Ascetics, Piety and Power

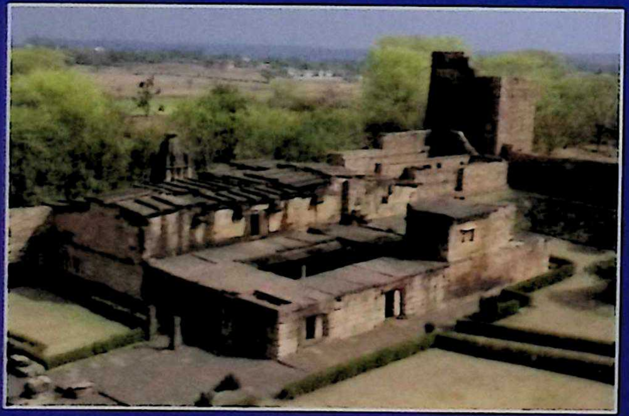
Śaiva Siddhānta Monastic Art in the Woodlands of Central India

R.N. Misra

Ascetics, Piety and Power

Śaiva Siddhānta Monastic Art in the Woodlands of Central India

The book attempts to recapture the material milieu, spiritual anchorage and power and authority of Śaiva Siddhānta ascetics in the Vindhyan woodlands of central India during the early medieval times. In doing so, it also highlights contradictions that coupled renunciation with acquisitive monasticism, piety with power, and militancy with asceticism. The details tend to betray territorial ambition of the renouncers who carved out a vast network of prosperous *maṭhas*—the spectacular structures generally ignored in our studies so far— as their strongholds amidst the raw and hazardous woodlands (*aṭavīs*) lived by indomitable autochthons (*āṭavikas*). The book highlights the renouncer-woodlander coalition institutionalized under the monasteries, temples and sculpture. Sculptures among these, in particular, portray queer female deities, fierce goblins, banshees and ascetics too, all integrated with conventional divinities, which composed the Saiddhāntika monastic art and architecture.



Surwaya *maṭha*: General view.
Photo courtesy: Dr. Ramesh Yadav.

Ascetics, Piety and Power

Śaiva Siddhānta Monastic Art in the Woodlands of Central India

Ascetics, Piety and Power

Śaiva Siddhānta Monastic Art in the Woodlands of Central India

R.N. Misra

Aryan Books International
New Delhi

ASCETICS, PIETY AND POWER
Śaiva Siddhānta Monastic Art in the Woodlands of Central India

ISBN: 978-81-7305-605-5

© R.N. Misra, 2018

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic and mechanical, including photocopy, recording or any other information storage and retrieval system or otherwise, without written permission from the publisher.

This book is mainly the outcome of the Tagore National Fellowship (2012-15) awarded to the author by the Ministry of Culture, Govt of India, with affiliation to the Archaeological Survey of India.

First Published in 2018 by:
Aryan Books International
Pooja Apartments, 4B, Ansari Road, New Delhi-110002 (India)
Tel.: 23287589, 23255799; Fax: 91-11-23270385
E-mail: aryanbooks@gmail.com
www.aryanbooks.com

in association with
Archaeological Survey of India
24, Tilak Marg, New Delhi

Designed and Printed in India by
ABI Prints & Publishing Co., New Delhi.

Preface and Acknowledgements

This narrative attempts to recapture the material milieu, spiritual anchorage, power and authority, and the artistic quest of Śaiva Siddhānta ascetics in the Vindhyan hinterland of central India during the early medieval times. In doing so, it also highlights contradictions latent in the phenomenon, the contradictions that coupled renunciation with acquisitive monasticism, piety with power, and militancy with asceticism. The details tend to betray the inexhaustible territorial ambition of these renouncers who carved out a vast network of prosperous *maṭhas* in the woodlands, which served as their strongholds. Presiding over these secure habitats, they stood as a trans-regional power, with a vast territorial expanse under their sway, exercising authority surpassing that of even the contemporary rulers who willingly submitted to them. These pedigreed ascetics proclaimed a well-knit genealogy of divine as well as *ṛṣic* descent for legitimacy. They chose to live in the raw and hazardous woodlands (*aṭavīs*) in alliance with its indomitable autochthons (*āṭavikas*). These *āṭavikas* were dreaded and forcibly restrained by potentates but protected and nurtured by ascetics. The comity between *munis* and *āṭavikas* explicitly comes out in the contemporary epigraphs as well as in iconography, the latter laden with queer female deities, fierce goblins, banshees and the ascetics too, all integrated with conventional divinities. The *maṭhas* along with their accompanying temples and their sculptures thus compose the monastic art patronized and promoted by the renouncers.

The formidable link between the *munis*, autochthons and woodlands must have been a major source of the ascetics' strength and ascent to power. It did not remain un-noticed. In the woodlands, where, as the evidence goes, even armies on the move were under threat, the rulers of the day sought the protection of the ascetics to buy peace and security. Thus, the potentates willingly submitted to them, reverently seeking and receiving formal initiation (*dīkṣā*) into their fold, which brought them protection and support in return. With the rise of clerical power, the Vindhyan region, especially Gopācala and Ḍāhala, seem to have been parceled out among *muni*s, potentates and traders where *muni*s, in alliance with *āṭavika*s, controlled the hinterland; traders dominated the cities; and imperial rulers or local chieftains functioned from their distant capitals, supported by *muni*s in the hinterland. That would also explain the prosperity and plentiful resources of *maṭha*s that grew unceasingly with grants by rulers and gift or levies from traders as the latter plied their trade transiting through the *aṭavī*s. With such antecedents of empowerment, the *muni*s, who were equally adept in wielding weapons and reading scriptures (*śastra-śāstra viṣārada*), are found assuming eloquent royal titles like *adhipati* (overlord), *nātha* (lord), *pāla* (protector), even *mahībhṛta*, ('protectors of the earth'), with little compunction. In these pursuits, the powerful *muni*s, in control of strongly built, fortified monasteries and endowed with immense material resources— wealth, revenue and privileges from village grants, arsenal, elephants and horses, artisans and craftsmen, law-enforcing contingents— secure in power, territorial extents and a grand following, seem vying with the rulers and diminishing their authority. The elaborately constructed, fortified and palatial *maṭha*s of the ascetics are visible material symbols of their supremacy in the hinterland, even today.

The rise of Siddhānta ascetics to power and authority thus seems fascinating for its content. The movement did not remain restricted to central India, its cradle. It assumed a pan-Indian presence by the tenth century and was growing progressively with monastic establishments in distant places as far as Bengal and Odisha in the east, Rajasthan in the west and Tamil and Andhra country in peninsular India. The emerging centres in those regions often declared their links with monastic establishments of central India, particularly the *golakī*s of Rewa and Jabalpur regions. Such ascendancy of the Siddhānta ascetics seems best explained not by their spirituality, but in reference to their tryst with power and authority, territorial ambition, administrative acumen and political control. This work makes a modest effort to explore governing mechanism of the rise of a marginalized class, i.e., renunciants, in alliance with *āṭavika*s, the other class of outcastes. A full-scale study of the *āṭavika* culture and institutional organisation, underlining their polity, economy and other aspects, remains a desideratum and can be addressed profitably.

The outline of this work emerged in stages as I traversed through the hinterland of Gwalior region pursuing my research interests while working at the University of Gwalior. Though my publications on the subject started much before 1993, the ultimate fruition of my premises came later, thanks to the Fellowship. The facilities provided by the Archaeological Survey of India, the department I was affiliated to, propelled me to bring to conclusion the conceptualizations that would have otherwise remained embedded in my thoughts. I therefore take this opportunity to express my gratitude to the Ministry and the ASI. During the period of my studies and fieldwork (2012-15), the fraternity of scholars and other individuals generously supported me from time to time, and I wish to acknowledge it with a sense of gratitude and appreciation. My special thanks go to the former Director Generals of the Archaeological

Survey of India, Professor Gautam Sengupta and Dr Rakesh Tewari for their support and academic sympathy. They provided to me the facilities to make this work possible, and their confidence in me was inspirational. I am equally indebted to Professor Chetan Singh, Director of the Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Shimla, who accepted me as a Guest Fellow (2015) to carry out my work in the most agreeable academic environment of the IIAS.

There are also others whose imprint will not be missed in the body of this work. In this respect, I am particularly beholden to Mr. Faiz Habib for three maps that appear in this book. These maps were prepared with the gracious support of Professor Irfan Habib. I am honoured by the generosity of Professor Habib and Faiz and profusely thank both of them for their help. I should also record my appreciation and gratitude to my former colleagues Professors S.K. Dwivedi and A.K. Singh of Jiwaji University and their family for their hospitality during the spells of my visit to Gwalior for this project. They, besides Professor R.P. Pandey and my pupils Mr. Sunil Tiwari and Sri Lallesh accompanied me from time to time to some of the sites near Gwalior. Sri Lallesh helped me in photographic documentation of monuments at Ranod, Mahua, Terahi and Kadwaha. Dr. Dwivedi was kind enough to read the Chandrehe memorial inscription for me, and Dr. Singh made available to me some of his published or submitted papers. I am grateful to them for all that and for sparing their time and offering me their valuable company. My thanks are due also to Professor G.C. Tripathi and Professor Radha Vallabha Tripathi: to the latter for translating the relevant passages of the Budhi Chanderi inscription of Ranapaladeva's time for my use, and to the former for sharing with me the information about an unpublished copper plate inscription from Odisha, now in the Allahabad Museum. I also thank Dr. Tamara Sears for sharing her insights about the monuments of our common interest. I would have remained oblivious of the vault at Chandrehe but for her information about it. I take this opportunity to thank her for this favour, for the photograph of the Indor *maṭha* (Plate 19) and for her learned research papers that I could read thanks to her generosity. I wish her book on the *Learned Gurus...* had come to me before I had completed mine. Nevertheless, I do thank Professor Parul Dave Mukherji who kindly lent me this well-accomplished work later on.

I cherish the memories of the time spent with Late Dr. Amarendra Kumar Singh of the University at Rewa who was kind enough to accompany me to Chunari, Gurgi, Mehsaun and Chandrehe and offer hospitality to me while I was in Rewa. I am sad that with him gone, I will always miss the benefit of his inimitable experience and commitment to scholarship.

The support of the officers and staff of Archaeological Survey of India remained liberally and perpetually available to me while my work progressed. Dr. S.B. Ota and Dr. Urmila Sant expedited the required permission for photographic documentation of the sites and Museums relevant to my work. Dr. Zulfikar Ali and Dr. M.C. Joshi accompanied me to Terahi, Mahua and Kadwaha in March 2015 when need arose for me to crosscheck the data. Similarly, Sri Tikam Tenwar of ASI energetically helped me in revisiting Surwaya with much care and consideration. At Lucknow, Dr. P.K. Mishra and his staff were kind enough to take care of my academic requirements as I spent long hours working in the quiet and beautiful surroundings of the Dilkusha Kothi, a heritage monument of Nawabi times. Dr. Mishra also provided me a short-term assistance of Dr. (Ms.) Nirmala Shukla whose devotion to work was exemplary. Dr. Manuel Joseph, (Gwalior, ASI Museum) and Dr. A. A. Hashmi (Chanderi, ASI Museum) were of great help, and were generously hospitable during my visit to the Museums under their charge. I thank them all for their considerations for me.

A list of diacritical marks used in this monograph is given along with a Glossary at the end of the book. All the photographs, except the one mentioned above, in this monograph are mine but the dimensions of *maṭha*s and all other measurements described here are based on the survey done by my former student, Sri Anil Jain, who wrote his M. Phil dissertation under my supervision back in 1991-92 at the Jiwaji University. He and his dissertation are also the source of seven drawings (Figs.1, 6-11) that first appeared in my publication (1993) in the *Journal of Bombay Asiatic Society* and these figure again in this work. Figure 3 originally of Anil Jain has been retouched by Sri Sanjay Shrivastava of ASI and Sri Vaibhava Prateek, Figs. 2 and 4 by Sri Sanjay Shrivastava and Sri Vaibhava Prateek Shrivastava of Lucknow. Figure 5 by Sri Sanjay was retouched by Sri Vaibhava Prateek; the latter also took care to draw the conjectural plan of Kodal monastery following a rough draft of its layout. The plans of the *maṭha*s of Chandrehe, Chunari and Kodal were managed independently, difficulties notwithstanding. I gratefully acknowledge my gratitude to all these gentlemen for the drawings that appear in this work. During my visits to sites, the local enthusiasts also often joined me in useful conversations. I should in particular mention Sri Komal Singh Yadav of Terahi who told me of the existence of a fort, now extinct, surrounding the monastery there. Another gentleman at Ranod, the attendant at the Ranod PWD Guest House, told me of the Devi of Ranod abandoning the place and moving out to Kadwaha whence, he said, the glory of Ranod faded. The story in essence has a hint of the exodus of Purandara to Kadwaha from Ranod, a fact vouched by the inscription at Ranod. Sri Giltu Bohre of Ranod took me to the monastic site and was a good company. I appreciated their being with me when the occasion arose and I thank them for their indulgence.

I also take this opportunity to specially thank Mr. Vikas Arya who was exceptionally prompt in publishing this monograph with much care and consideration.

The pace of this work had its highs and lows but Amit was always there to spiritedly come forward when I encountered any difficulty. He also found time to read the manuscript, suggest improvements, provide botanical names of plants and shrubs mentioned in this work, and encourage me to carry on till he had re-formatted and assembled this manuscript for being sent to its destination for publication. I fondly appreciate his support and wish him well. I have the same feelings for Saman who was ever inquisitive about this work and sympathetically shared her thoughts with me about it. My grand children often stood neglected when I fell short of time to play with them. But they were magnanimous in their perseverance and happy when we were in company. Last, but not the least, and in total appreciation, I thank Veena for her inexhaustible academic sympathy and for being a constant source of inspiration and support to me, in and out of this work, as ever.

11 March 2018

R.N. Misra
Lucknow

Contents

Preface and Acknowledgements v

1. **Introduction: Settings of Monastic Art and its Makers** 1
    Śaiva-Siddhānta 4
    Aṭavī and *Āṭavikas* 9
    Gopācala in Profile 20
    Marginalised State of Polity in Gopācala and Ḍāhala 33

2. **Ascetics** 37
    Descent and Lineages of Siddhānta Ascetics 38
    Dakṣiṇa Kosala 45
    Kadambaguhā 47
    Araṇipadra 50
    Madhumatī 50
    Tripurī 53
    Ascetics and Piety 56
    Ascetics and Economic Resources 63
    Ascetics and Power 66

3. **Monastic Architecture: *Maṭhas* 1** 76
    Architectural Features 82
    Kadwaha: History and *Maṭha* Architecture 84
    Surwaya 95
    Terahi 104

Āmardaka (Amrol) 111
Ranod 112

4. **Monastic Architecture: *Maṭhas* 2** 122
Chanderi and Thubon 124
The *Maṭhas* in Ḍāhala Region 126
  Golakī (*golagnika*) *Maṭha* of Gurgi 126
  The Now Extinct *Maṭhas* at Bilhari and Maihar 128
  Chandrehe 128
Architecture of the Chandrehe *Maṭha* 130
Chunari 139
Kodal 142
Concluding Remarks 147

5. **Monastic Temples and Sculptures** 152
Temples 155
  Terahi 157
  Surwaya 159
  Chandrehe 164
  Kadwaha 165
  Kodal 169
Sculptures 172
Figural Imagery 178
  The First Phase (7th to 9th century) 178
  The Second Phase (10th to 12th century) 181

Maps:

  Map 1. *Vindhyāṭavī*: The environs of Terahi and Mahua. 42
  Map 2. The group of sites at Kadwaha. 43
  Map 3. Śaivite monasteries in central India, 7th-14th centuries. 44

Colour Plates 203
Diacritical Symbols and Glossary 205
Select Bibliography 209
Index 215

1

Introduction: Settings of Monastic Art and its Makers

This work attempts a survey of Śaiva Siddhānta monastic art and its prime movers in the hinterlands of mid-India during the early Middle Age. The exercise *inter alia* involves a review of woodland-based Śaivite ascetics[1] of Durvāsā[2] and collateral lineages[3] in the hinterlands, their advent, growth and empowerment, their *maṭha*s and *maṭha*-based exclusive temples and sculptures which proliferated in quick succession in the woodlands of Gopācala[4] (7th to 14th century) and Ḍāhala[5] (10th to 13th century) amidst the central Indian

---

[1] They are variously addressed as *muni, muniratna, munīndra, siddha, sādhu, guru, rājaguru, ācārya, yati, bhaṭṭāraka, nātha, pāla, adhipati, sthānapati and sthānādhikṛta*. For a detailed interpretation of the terms *muni, yati, ṛṣi* and what they signified in terms of ascetic practices, cf. Pathak, V.S. (1988): intro., 1-31, in Dubey, Sitaram (1988).

[2] The Ranod Stone inscription connects the ascetic lineage to Brahmā, Śiva, Kadambaguhāvāsī and Āmardaka-tīrth-nātha. Cf., *Epigraphia Indica* (hereafter *E.I.*), 1, p. 355. The *Tantrāloka* (I.28) connects it to Durvāsā who, it is said, was commanded by Śiva to preach Śaiva doctrine in the Kali era whereupon he instructed his mind-born son Āmardaka to do so. Āmardaka was instrumental in founding the Dualist (Śaiva) Siddhānta doctrine according to the *Tantrāloka*. Cf. Pathak (1960): 30. Pathak, quoting Hultzsch, shows that 'this tradition recurs in many *tāntrika* works'; but he also notes "...no person by the name of Durvāsā is recorded to have flourished in this line from Guhāvāsī [of Ranod inscription] to Viśveśvara Śambhu" [of Malkapuram inscription]. It may be noted that Śāntaśiva, descending from Vimalaśiva II is described as incarnation of Durvāsā in the Dhureti Plates (1112-13 CE), Mirashi (1955): 372, line 11-12. See also: *Infra*, p. 38, fn. 13.

[3] e.g., the Mattamayūra, Madhumatī, Āmardaka and Golagnika (Golagī/Golakī) offshoots of the Siddhānta Śaivism.

[4] The term applies to Gwalior region in northern Madhya Pradesh as used in ancient inscriptions and texts, for instance, in an inscription of VS 1329 from Naresar and in Khadga Rai (Dwivedi, Harihar Niwas: 1980). For the inscription, see *Annual Report of Epigraphy* for 1961-62, No. 1559, quoted in Singh, A.K. (2010-12): 309-323. Gwalior (anc. Gwalikera) is variously mentioned as Gopagiri, Gopācala-*durga*, Gopādri or Gopādri *durga*, cf. Fleet (1963): 162, fn. 1.

[5] Ḍāhala (Ḍabhālā) region between Yamuna and Narmada (*Kālindī Narmadayor madhye*)

Vindhyas. The Siddhānta monastic movement compels attention especially for its *āṭavika* (woodland communities) and *aṭavī* (woodland)-related antecedents. These antecedents, though generally passed over in studies so far,[6] set out the perspectives of the ascetics' overarching presence in the inhospitable stretches of *vindhyāṭavī*[7] to the exclusion of other mainstream institutions of the day. The epigraphs, monasteries and the related temples that have survived largely in the hinterland of central India offer the relevant source material in support of these premises.[8] They demonstrate that the sacred locations (*tapasthāna*) of Siddhānta ascetics in their 'penance forests' (*tapovanas*), progressively grew into monasteries, pilgrimage centres and sturdy fortresses. Some of these imposing fortresses stand imperiously even today in starkly severe woodland surroundings along with their elegant temples *in situ*. Such sacred centres of piety secure in power, pelf and glory of their spiritually endowed erudite *munis*, witnessed recluses occasionally turning into warriors.[9] In fact, militancy, among other things, seems to have been a significant element in their way of life – militancy not *per se* but resorted to for strengthening the seats of their power and those of their royal protégés, overshadowing even political and administrative functions of the State and its rulers. The presence of warrior-monks in sacred domains, both in the Middle Chambal Valley and in the Son valley and upper Narmada (Ḍāhala) region of central India thus remains unparalleled in history. Their rise is significant especially in its settings in the ecologically challenging and harsh *mahāṭavī*,[10] where 'calamities' were endemic and the operative mechanisms of State

---

constituted the eastern and central part of the mid-Indian *Vindhyāṭavī*. It contained the *āṭavika* kingdoms under the Guptas and later under Parivrājaka Mahārājas Hastin and Saṃkṣobha in the early 6th century, (518-19 to 528-29 CE). *Infra*, pp. 35-36. Tripurī (in Ḍāhala) near Jabalpur became its capital under the Kalacuris. Cf. Raychaudhuri, Hemachandra (1953): 538, 560, 505.

[6] These include works of Banerjee, R.D. (1931), Sharma, R.K. (1978, 1980), Ali, Rahman (1980), Trivedi, R.D. (1990), Willis, Michael D. (1997), Singh, Amarendra Kumar (2002), which deal with art heritage along with historical outlines of the Ḍāhala and/or Gopācala regions. See also, Misra, R.N. (1993, 1997, 2005) and Sears, Tamara I. (2008, 2009, and 2011) for other interpretations.

[7] For this term and its graphic description, cf. *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇabhaṭṭa, (Parab 2005: 227-230). These woodlands to the south of Yamuna's stretch from the Mathura-Allahabad, included the territory between the Chambal river in the east and the Son river in the west, down to the Upper Narmada Valley and the Daṇḍakāraṇya to its south. The term is mentioned also in an imprecatory verse of an inscription, see Fleet (1963 rep): 13, fn.7.

[8] The *maṭhas* and temples besides a set of inscriptions afford the archaeological record of a multifaceted Śaivite religious movement (seventh to thirteenth centuries CE), engineered by the Siddhānta (Śuddha Śaiva) ascetics in the Guna-Shivpuri-Gwalior region, which eventually assumed a Pan-Indian character.

[9] *E.I.*, 37, p. 123, verse 14-17. Also, Misra, R.N. (1993): 116-118; (1997): 76-77

[10] The 'great (Vindhyan) forest', (*mahāṭavī*) was dreaded for its insecurity. It is described as *vipadbāndhava*, 'a companion of calamity', in the *Harṣacarita*, (Parab 2005: 247). The *Arthaśāstra* (7-4-7: Kangle 1986, Vol. II. 60), speaks of *aṭavī-vyathitā*, the woodland afflicted pains.

society had not taken root.[11] This peculiar setting seems to have aided the Siddhānta ascetics, in alliance with *āṭavika*s, in carving out a 'state within State', as it were, to their advantage in the Vindhyan woodlands.[12]

Ascetics wielding authority and occupying monasteries—sometimes elaborately fortified—as their seats of power in the Vindhyan hinterland were equally adept in penance and meditation and were masters of *śāstra*. These meditating and penance-loving *munis*[13] were not given to living on alms of the community or doles of the State.[14] On the contrary, their interactions with the world outside, coupled with their co-existence with *āṭavika*[15] communities in the woodlands, tends to reflect their socially secure, materially thriving and politically strident status whence apparently arose their supremacy. As they made forays into the realms of the rulers' power, they successfully eroded even the *varṇa* hierarchy, reducing the 'upper' rungs of society, namely: Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas, to a subservient status.[16] In these roles, the *muni*s seem to have introduced a hierarchy within the hierarchy of the social order of their time, imparting centrality to the two socially marginalised outcaste categories, namely ascetics and *āṭavika*s, and promoting a counter-culture with distinctive political-economic overtones and spirituality.[17]

The *muni*s energetically promoted spiritual fervour through their patronage of art. This heralded an unprecedented artistic surge in the hinterland as they uninterruptedly raised temples and commissioned works in and around their retreats, drawing on their own resources.[18]

---

[11] Misra, R.N. (1999): 59-78.

[12] Its ascendance over the local Caulukya-Śulki chiefs (early 9th century), and Later Pratihāras (late 10th to 13th century) is evident at Kadwaha in the Gopācala (anc. Gwalior) region. Its further efflorescence is in evidence under the Kalacuris (early 10th to 13th century) in the Ḍāhala region in central and eastern Madhya Pradesh.

[13] *Infra*, pp. 58-59.

[14] This was very unlike the Buddhist Divākarasena, a Buddhist monk of Pārāśara pursuance who is mentioned in the *Harṣacarita* as *pinḍapātī*, 'living on doles' (*...pinḍapātī pārāśarī Divākaramitra...*) with his disciples in his retreat that lay in the thickly wooded foothills of the Vindhyas. Parab (2005): 233. For this interpretation of the term and other details, cf., Agrawala (1964): 192. In a single instance however, a Siddhānta ascetic is mentioned as 'sometimes living on alms' (*kvacidbhikṣāvṛttiḥ*), cf., Mirashi (1955): 215, 224, v. 83.

[15] The term *aṭavī*, 'forest', defines the forest tract of mid-India; its denizens were *āṭavikas*. In literary usage, the term is used for people as well as the province. Cf., Misra, R.N., (1993-b): 63.

[16] *Infra*, pp. 72-74. This could be possible in the *āṭavika* surrounding of their retreats where the Ganga-valley *varṇa-jāti* model had little relevance. The *āṭavika*s would apparently be free from such hierarchical stratification in the *aṭavī*s, 'woodlands'.

[17] The *āṭavika*s and ascetics were conventionally regarded as outsiders in the hierarchical *varṇa-jāti* system: *muni*s because their renunciation extinguished their birth through the *antyeṣṭhi* ceremony and *āṭavika*s because Dharmaśāstras relegated them to the status of *antyajas*. For forest folks as outcastes in Manu (X.32-40, 48-55), cf. Habib (2010): 67.

[18] *E. I.*, 1, p. 354, v. 15, pp. 359-360, vv. 43-51, for instance. Also *infra*, pp. 153-155.

In doing so, the *munis* and *sthānapatis*[19] seem to have appropriated that role from State with an intent to institutionalize, re-distribute and perpetuate it across the woodlands with an almost expansionistic design. Their monastic strongholds and the temples accompanying them testify to the power and spiritual strength of this movement, which eventually altered power equations in the region and firmed up the pre-eminence of ascetics in the intractable woodlands. With ascetics wielding both power and piety, their classical role as renouncers seems to have been re-invented into statesmanship: art becoming statecraft in their hands; and the two together re-ordering piety into political clout.

We must hasten to add that there were other determining factors as well, unique in their ways that presaged these developments. The entire process of empowerment of the ascetics seems to have been calibrated by the convergence of *maṭha*, *tapovana*, *aṭavī* and *āṭavikas* under the wrap of Siddhānta Śaivism with an overarching temporal authority of its ascetics.[20] This convergence is eminently reflected in the epigraphs and monuments in the northern Madhya Pradesh (Gopācala), the cradle of Siddhānta Śaivism as well as in the Cedi-Ḍāhala region of central India where it found further strength. Epigraphs indicate that Siddhānta Śaivism remained vibrant and active in the *vindhyāṭavī* of mid-India from seventh century onwards as it grew un-assailed in a non-competitive historical context[21] of its land, people and culture. Let us first introduce Siddhānta Śaivism, before elaborating on the prime movers of the movement including the woodlands (*vana*, *tapovana*, *aṭavī*, *mahākāntāra*) and its people (*āṭavikas*) and culture.

ŚAIVA-SIDDHĀNTA

Śaivism is not necessarily a monolith. It had different schools and sects, each with its particular doctrine and theology. These schools are variously listed in the Purāṇas and Āgamas.[22] Pathak distinguishes four of them among the major ones, including Siddhānta (or Śaiva),[23] Kālānala (same as Kāruka), Pāśupata and Kāpālika (with Soma in association). The sect[24] is distinctly described in central Indian epigraphs as 'Siddhānta'[25] and its *ācāryas* or *munis* are styled as 'Saiddhāntika'.[26] A succession of its teachers and their disciples (*śiṣya-praśiṣya paripāṭī*)[27] constituted its genealogies and these are expressed in terms of *siddha-santati*, 'offspring of the Siddhas', *anvaya*, 'succession' or *vaṃśa*, 'lineage'.[28] Later inscriptions, almost two centuries after the inception of the line, have attempted to re-construct a mythologized divine and *ṛṣic* descent of these ascetics.[29] Epigraphs, issued either by its *ācāryas* or by the ruling princes, who supported them or received their support, help in providing a historical outline of the ascetic

---

[19] The term occurs in the Karhad plates of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III; cf., *E.I.* 4, p. 286. It refers to a Śaivite ascetic Gaganaśiva, who was well versed in Śaiva Siddhānta.

[20] The Vindhyan topography in central India, dotted with numerous major hill ranges and sprawling *vanas* and lived by *āṭavika* communities, is seen ubiquitously coinciding with Siddhānta Śaivism and its monastic establishments. The evidence tends to demonstrate Siddhānta ascetics spearheading the movement in the *aṭavī* woodlands amidst *āṭavika* highlanders even as their organization remained independent of the conventional dynamics of State, society and economy that operated beyond hinterlands. These factors, marking primacy of the hinterland over other territories or of dominance of the periphery over the centre, seem to have determined the rise and growth of this ascetic movement and its heritage in central India.

[21] Cf. Misra, R.N. (1999): 59-78. The essay spells out the institutionally disorganized Gopācala region marked by primacy of the woodlands and its warriors (*bhaṭas*), underlining the absence of imperial authority, brahmanical *varṇa-jāti* stratification, organized trade against which, in contrast, stood the better-organized Siddhānta *munis* and their monasteries. This state of being apparently allowed the *munis* and their establishments to grow in strength and prosperity.

[22] Pathak (1960): 3, 4.

---

23. The Śaiva-Siddhānta school has already received the attention of Davis, Richard H. (1991); Dunuwila, Rohan A. (1985); Mahadevan, T.M.P., (1966); Pathak (1960): 28-50; Mirashi (1955): *intro*, cl-clix; Schomerus, (1912).

24. The *Sarvadarśana Saṃgraha* of Mādhavācārya contains a brief account of the sect. As the text was composed in south India where the sect got firmly entrenched after its eclipse in north, the formulations about it as contained in this text are in conformity with the final enunciations obtained in south. For doctrinal precepts of the Śaiva-Siddhānta, cf. Sharma, Uma Shankar (1984): 274-97. For its presence in eastern and central Madhya Pradesh, cf. Mirashi, (1955): *intro*, cl-clix. The sect has a distinguished history in Tamil tradition. The tradition refers to 84 Śaiva ascetics including the *ācāryas* like Appara, Jñāna Samabanda, Sundaramūrti and Maṇikkavācaka (seventh-eighth century). It professes its foundations in twenty-eight *Tantras*, which were believed to have been revealed by five-headed Śiva from his different mouths, i.e. Sadyojāta, Vāmadeva, Tatpuruṣa, Aghora and Īśāna. The *Aṣṭaprakāśas* are the chief works of the Siddhānta. They consist of five texts by Sadyojāta (*c.* 800 CE) namely, *Nareśvara Parīkṣā*, *Rauravāgama Vṛtti*, *Tattva Saṃgraha*, *Tattvatraya*, and *Bhogakārikā* besides *Paramokṣanivāsa Kārika*, *Nādakārikā* and *Ratnatraya*. The last three texts are ascribed respectively to Bhoja (eleventh century), Rāmakanṭha (c. AD 1100) and Srīkanṭha (1125). To these may be added Aghoraśiva's commentary on *Tattva Prakāśikā* and the *Nādakārikā*. Cf. Sharma, Uma Shankar (1984):275.

25. Cf., Mirashi (1955): 230, verse 40: *etān śāsanatvena dattavān siddhānta pāragāya*...; *E.I.*, 1, p.358, verse 36: 'like Maheśa in Siddhānta doctrine'. This Śaivite School is also mentioned as *śiva-mata*; Cf.Mirashi (1955): 227 verse 4; or, as *śaiva vrata*, 48, Mirashi (1955): 335, v. 33.

26. Gurgi Stone Inscription of Kokalla II, in Mirashi (1955): 227, verse 3 (Madhumatī as the abode of Saiddhāntikās); Also, *siddhānteṣu maheśa eṣa niyataṃ*, *E.I.*, 1, p. 358, v. 36.

27. *E.I.*, 31, p.36, v.19.

28. See: *santati* and *mādhumateya vaṃśa* in the Bilhari Stone Insc.of Yuvarājadeva II, in Mirashi (1955): 213, vv. 48, 55. The teacher-disciple succession is described in verses 43 to 58 of the inscription, the teachers having been designated as *munivara*, *munipuṅgava* or *guru* and disciples as *śiṣya*. The term *santati* (offspring) is mentioned in the Chandrehe Stone Inscription: Mirashi (1955): 200, v. 4: *srīmān-mattamayūra-santatiriyaṃ-gaṅgeva lokatrayaṃ-pūyāt*. Inscriptions also mention Mattamayūra *vaṃśa*, cf. Mirashi (1955): 227, v. 5. Also Mirashi (1955): 228, v. 19: *śrīmat mattamayūra vaṃśa tilako niḥśeṣa vidyānidhiḥ*. The term *anvaya* finds mention in the Jabalpur Stone Inscription, Cf., Mirashi (1955): 337: *tadanvaye śiṣya paramparāyāḥ kramāddhi vaṃśaḥ*, v. 6. The Senkapat inscription expresses it in terms of *śiṣyapraśiṣya paripāṭī*. See, *E.I.* 31, p. 36, v.19

29 *Infra*, pp. 38-39; *E.I.*, 1, p.355, vv. 6-8.

movement. The material in these epigraphs is generally similar or mutually complementary in content despite disparate issuing authorities,[30] whether princes or ascetics.[31]

Śaiva-Siddhānta's Mattamayūra lineage and the latter's collateral branches had a remarkable history and widespread presence in northern, eastern and central Madhya Pradesh (seventh to thirteenth centuries) and in Chhattisgarh (eighth century; also later under the Kalacuris of Ratanpur branch),[32] Rajasthan (960 CE),[33] Bengal,[34] Odisha (tenth or eleventh century),[35] Maharashtra (tenth and eleventh centuries),[36] Andhra[37] (thirteenth century) and Tamil Nadu (tenth to fourteenth centuries).[38] There is also a reference to Aghoraśiva, an ascetic (of this sect) in an inscription (eighth-tenth century) from Jageshwar in Uttarakhand.[39]

---

[30] The ascetics issued the Ranod, Chandrehe, Kadwaha, Jabalpur (KE. 926) and the Gwalior Museum inscriptions but others inscriptions, including those of Bilhari, Gurgi, Senkapat, Rajor and Karhad were royal charters. Among the important inscriptions in central India are: (i) Chandrehe Stone Inscription of Prabodhaśiva, Mirashi (1955): 200-01, (ii) Bilhari Stone Inscription of Yuvarājadeva II, *ibid*, pp. 209-15, (iii) Gurgi Stone Inscription of Kokalla II, *ibid*, pp.227-30, (iv) Jabalpur Stone Inscription of Jayasiṃha, *ibid*, pp. 333-36, (v) Dhureti Plates of Trailokyamalla, *ibid*, pp. 371-73, (vi) a Fragmentary Stone Inscription from Kadwaha, *E.I*, 38, pp. 122-24, (vii) a Stone Inscription from Ranod, *E.I.*, 1, pp. 354-61, (viii) Gwalior Museum Inscription of Patangaśambhu, V.V. Mirashi (1974), (ix) Budhi Chanderi Inscription of the time of Raṇapāladeva, Jain and Trivedi, (1976): 87-90. Certain epigraphs, Bilhari and Gurgi record for instance, seem like joint issues covering both rulers and ascetics while others, Ranod record for instance, do not even care to mention the ruling king. There is however no instance in the inscriptions of ascetics contradicting rulers or *vice versa*.

[31] The ascetics's exclusive epigraphs utterly discarded the conventional practice of prefacing them with the reigning king, thus confirming *munis*' independence as issuing authority.

[32] Rudraśiva was the preceptor of Jājalladeva I, Cf, Mirashi (1955), (Part II): 417. For early manifestations of the sect in Dakṣiṇa Kosala (Chhattisgarh), *infra*, pp. 45-46. Also, Shastri (1992): 15-23.

[33] *Infra*, p. 111 and fn. 116.

[34] Sircar, D.C. (1983b): 34-56. Bhattacharya (2002); Ghosh, Ranjusri (2010). The Gurgi Stone Inscription of Kokalladeva II (Mirashi 1955: 228, v. 14) refers to Praśāntaśiva (mid-tenth century) of Gurgi-Chandrehe establishing a *tapasthāna* at Varanasi. The Bengal lineage may have branched out from a *tapasthāna* at Varanasi and derived possibly from Madhumatī's ascetic lineage through Praśāntaśiva.

[35] Chhabra, B. Ch., (1984 rep.), "Ranipur Jharial Inscriptions", *E.I.*, 24, pp. 242-243. It refers to Gaganaśiva who had immigrated from Uttara-Terambi-*gṛha* and built a Śiva temple at Ranipur. Another Śaivite ascetic named Śikhādeva also immigrated from Terambi and established a *maṭha* in the Bhañja territory. For details, see *Infra*, p. 105.

[36] *E.I.*, 4, pp. 285-86; *infra*, p. 112, fn. 119. The Kharepatan Plates of Raṭṭarāja (*E.I*, 3, pp. 300-301) refer to the Karkaroni branch of the Siddhānta's Mattamayūra *anvaya* and its preceptors.

[37] Cf., The Malkapuram Stone Inscription of 1261 CE, in Sircar, D.C. (1983): 574-591. For other inscriptions, cf., Pathak (1960): 30-31. Talbot, Cynthia (1987): 133-142.

[38] Cf., Pathak (1960): 32.

[39] Aghoraśiva *alias* Viṣanirghāta is mentioned in an inscription "engraved on the walls of small Śiva shrine" near the Jageshwar temple in Almora Distt of Uttarakhand. He is described as "desirous

The impact of the central Indian Siddhānta tradition is firmly indicated in this diaspora. For, excepting the instance of Jageshwar, everywhere else allegiance to central Indian monasteries (i.e. those in ancient Terambi, Madhumatī, Mattamayūrapura, Āmardaka, the *golakī*s of Gurgi and Tripuri, in Gwalior, Shivpuri, Ashoknagar, Jabalpur and Rewa districts of M.P.) is invoked in distant lands of Rajasthan, Chhattisgarh, Maharashtra, Andhra and Odisha. So, in essence, the history of Siddhānta in central India and beyond tends to turn substantially into an account of its expanding space, its material and conceptual boundaries and whatever they cordoned off or transcended in the process.

The Siddhānta was considered as a meta-system (*mahātantra*), with its exclusive theology and doctrinal tenets. These tenets espoused a fundamental belief in three categories (*tripadārtha*) and four foundations (*catuṣpāda*) of the system.[40] The three categories consisted of *paśu*, *pati* and *pāśa* where the first is *jīva* (soul), the second *Īśvara* (Śiva) and the third, the 'bondage' that binds the soul. The four foundations of the system consisted of *jñāna* (knowledge), *kriyā* (ritual practices), *yoga* (meditation) and *caryā* (discipline in doing the prescribed and avoiding the prohibited). Of these, *caryā* supposedly ensured attainment by *jīva* of *sālokya* (residence in the region of God); *kriyā* promised *sāmīpya* (nearness to God); *yoga* likewise led to attaining *sārūpya* (form of God); and *jñāna* to *sāyujya* (form of God), which amounts to liberation. In these formulations Siddhānta, in its developed form, enunciates a perpetual 'entitative difference between God and soul' but signifies a 'mystic union' between the two, thus propagating 'unity in duality'.[41] It promoted a doctrine based on the Vaiśeṣika-atomistic philosophy and Āgamic theism, which it vigorously pursued.[42]

The sacred topography of the Siddhānta movement is apparently interlaced with political, geographic and cultural content where spirituality is portrayed as paramount, uncontested and complete. The Ranod inscription of Vyomaśiva written roughly two centuries after the beginning of the ascetics' lineages, retrospectively describes the progressively expanding space of the sect and its 'multiple branches'.[43] This may have reference to both conceptual and material spaces: conceptual in terms of its imagined sacred spaces and material in terms of the locations it occupied in strength. The inscriptions *inter alia* indicate this diaspora from

---

of ending his life at the temple of Nandā Bhagavatī." *Sri Nandā bhagavatī maraṇa-pratyāśa-Aghoraśiva-viṣanirghāta*. Cf., Sircar, D.C. (1960-61) "Some Inscriptions from U.P.", *E.I.*, 34, p. 253. Sircar says that the term *maraṇa* may also be a mistake for *smaraṇa*, *caraṇa*, or *śaraṇa*. Among other things, the record also recounts Siddhānta doctrine.

[40] *tripadārthaṃ catuṣpadaḥ mahātantraṃ jagadguruḥ, sūtrenaikena saṃkṣipya prāha*.... U.S. Sharma (ed.), *Sarvadarśana Saṃgraha*, p. 274.

[41] Mahadevan (1966): 445-449.

[42] Pathak (1960): 31-39.

[43] *E. I.*, 1, p. 355, v. 7; also v. 3

guhā[44] (cave), *tapasthāna*[45] (locations for penance), *tapovana*[46] (penance forest) and *āśrama*[47] (hermitage), to vast territorial and spatial tracts. Such tracts are expressed hierarchically in terms of *tīrtha* (pilgrimage centres), *padra* (or *pada*; a forest-tract settlement), *pattana* (township), *viṣaya* (district), *pradeśa* (region), *diśaḥ* (directions) and *urvī* (earth) and indicate the expanding sacred space of the movement.[48]

The terms appropriately spell out material spaces—imagined or substantive—incorporated into the movement to its advantage even as the claim may imply its unhindered spread in territories it appropriated as it grew. Of those terms, *viṣaya* and *pradeśa*, though unnamed, have political connotations, as in those contexts they imply administratively defined territorial and political units. *Pattana* implies a town; *tīrtha* has a religious and cultural import, while *padra* is a geographical unit in being a small settlement in (or, on the fringe of) a forest[49] where distinctions between populated and solitary space blurred. These limits seem to be transcended in *urvī* (the Earth) and *diśaḥ* (points of the compass, directions) implying an imagined, unlimited sway of the Siddhānta school and the Siddhāntikas far beyond a narrow material landscape. Such expansion is remarkable considering the fact that the locations of the ascetics in the beginning were limited to forests (*tapovana*) away from populated settlements. The forest in these references is generally a place of penance, secluded, solitary, and fit for a naturalistic and self-mortificatory living in meditation. In that classical imagery, it evokes an exclusive sphere bereft of social, economic and other activities, which characterized life in a village or town. A forest thus stood as an antithesis of a village and the ascetics' total withdrawal into it signified their state of renunciation.[50]

This outline of Siddhānta Śaivism, its doctrines and expanding space serves as a prelude to the discussions that follow relating to the other contributory factors, especially the *aṭavī* and the *āṭavikas* that led to its growth. These two terms have their generic import and also their Gopācala-Ḍāhala specific contexts and settings in the region. The *āṭavikas*, particularized as Nara, Seka, Aparaseka, Bhadakana, Kacchapa, Pulinda, Kāruṣa and Śabara, in these regions are met in texts and inscriptions.[51] Both *aṭavī* and *āṭavika* apparently defined Siddhānta's loci and support-base in the *vindhyāṭavī*, helped the ascetics assume power and authority and evolve non-hieratic manifestations in art, especially in respect of female deities. The details of what they implied follow.

---

[44] For *guhā* as in 'Kadamba-guhādhivāsī,' cf. *E.I.*, 1, p. 355, v. 8;

[45] Cf., Mirashi (1955): 228: *yasya kāritvān muniḥ surasari tīre tapaḥ sthānakaṃ*; or, *ibid*, p.200, v.7: *ṣoṇanadasaṃgame bhramaraśailamuletulaṃ...cakāra viditaṃ janairmunisakhaḥ praśāntāśrama ...yatkṛti.*

[46] E.g. *āmardaka khyāti tapovana vinirgatai*: *E.I.*, 31, p. 36, line 14; or *E.I.*, 1, p. 355, v. 15: *tapovanaṃ śreṣṭha maṭhaṃ vidhāya*. For *tapovana*, cf. Kangle (1986): 109.

[47] *E.I.* 1, p. 357, v. 29.

[48] *E.I.*, 1, p. 355, v. 7; also v. 3. For *tīrtha*, cf. *E.I.*, 1, v. 9; for *padra*, *ibid.* p. 357, v. 29. It is mentioned as *pada* in a Kadwaha inscription; cf. *E.I*, 37, p. 122, v. 7. For *viṣaya*, *pradeśa* and *diśaḥ*, cf. *E.I.*, 1, p. 357, v. 31. For *urvī* as in *urvīpati*, *ibid.*, *v.* 11; for *āśrama*, *ibid.*, *v.* 29.

[49] *Infra*, pp. 112-113 for *pada*, *padra* indicating connection with human settlement. The term *padra* also implied a settlement having tribal connections, cf, Ramesh and Tiwari (1990): xiii.

[50] For a detailed discussion on forest *vis-a-vis* village and man in it, cf. Malamoud (1998): 74-91; also Habib (2010): 59-63; 94-99, 104.

AṬAVĪ AND *ĀṬAVIKAS*

Aṭavī, 'forest', defines the "forest tract of mid-India",[52] the undomesticated, wooded hinterland amidst the Vindhyan rolling hills with its valleys watered by numerous perennial rivers.[53] *Vindhyāṭavī* was sparsely inhabited woodland with its pervasive hill ranges. In extent, it was bounded by the Yamuna in the north, the Narmada in the south, the Sindh and Chambal in the west, and the Son in the east (**Map 3**), extending southwards to the *mahākāntāra* of Dakṣiṇa Kosala towards the east and Daṇḍaka *vana* to the west. In its midst, ancient Gopācala (Gwalior) extending to eastern Malwa seems to have been the core that first sheltered the *muni*s who inaugurated the movement. Later, the movement expanded further towards ancient Ḍāhala that lay in eastern and central Madhya Pradesh.

The physical contours of the lands in Gopācala and Ḍāhala are liberally dispersed along with the Vindhya ranges that defined the ancient *vindhyāṭavī*. Gopācala[54] (Gopādri,

---

51. Misra, R.N. (1999): 62. These people figure in the account of the campaigns of Bhīma and Sahadeva, as described in the *Sabhā Parvan* (ch. 52-59) of the *Mahābhārata* (Gita Press, Gorakhpur edition of VS 2045). See also *Infra*, p. 11, fn. 65; also, p. 21 fn. 105 (Bhadakanas); p. 33 fn. 180 (Pulinda and Śabaras); p. 27 fn. 145 (Kacchapas).
52. Raychaudhuri (1953): 307. Raychaudhuri refers also to *Ālavī* of the Buddhist texts. The *Mahāmāyūrī* refers to *aṭavī* twice as a (woodland) settlement perched towards south-south-east of Śrāvastī. Cf., Misra (1981): 167,171. In the text, *aṭavī* figures among ancient sites under the protection of the malevolent-benevolent Yakṣas, the ancient demi-gods having folk or tribal moorings.
53. These rivers included Chambal and its tributaries (Sindh, Parvati, Mej), besides Asan, Sankh, Kunwari, Mahuar (anc. Madhumatī of inscriptions), Lun (anc. Lavaṇa) and Betwa, (anc. Vetravatī) and its tributary Orr (anc. Urvaśī) in the Gopācala region and Son, Ken (anc. Śuktimatī) and Narmada in the Ḍāhala region (eastern and central Madhya Pradesh). In the *Mahābhārata*, the parable of river Chambal's (anc. Carmaṇvatī) origin reeks of blood. Carmaṇvatī is said to have derived that name on account of its origin from the blood stream oozing out of the skin of cows that were killed as offerings for a sacrificial ritual performed by Rantidurga, a chief. Cf. Misra and Sharma (1980): 279.
54. The term occurs in Khadga Rai's *Gopācala Ākhyāna*, (Cf. Dwivedi, Harihar Nivas 1980), which gives a traditional account of the history of Gwalior region. The region's identity is not seen before Mihirakula (*ca.* 525 CE), a Hūṇa chief whose inscription mentions it as Gopāhvaya and Girivara, cf, Fleet, (rep. 1963): 162, line 6. Two Gurjara Pratihāra inscriptions from Gwalior (VS 875, 876) mention it as Gopādri and Gopagiri. *E.I.*, 1, pp. 156, 159. Both the legends and the archaeological evidence of excavations suggest the beginnings of human settlement in Gwalior first on the hills and then in the valley. The bardic accounts of Khadga Rai indicate its early identity as a religious place marked by the hermitage of the sage Gwālipā.

Gopakṣetra) today comprises of Gwalior and Chambal administrative divisions in Madhya Pradesh, which have a varied geological profile. The physical environment of the region has three distinct geological formations, namely the Gwalior group of the Vindhyan Super Group sediments, the Cuddapah extensions and the Alluvium.

Of these, the two former have Upper Cambrian contexts while the Alluvium (3.5 to 1.3 million years BP) relates to the Pleistocene period.[55] The semi-arid climatic conditions of this region must have formed around Pleistocene period. The landscape shows immense variations marked by the ravines of the rivers Parvati, Asan, Chambal (anc. Carmaṇvatī), Kunwari (anc. Kaumārī, derived from Karttikeya's consort) and Sindh, besides Mahuar and Betwa.

This region has dense forests on the rolling hill ranges of Shivpuri District; and the Malwa plateau lies to the south with Ashoknagar and Guna as parts of it. Because of both ravines and woodlands, this entire region seems less capable of supporting a large population anywhere except in the Guna-Ashoknagar District. Even the Alluvium, which formed in the Pleistocene period, as a result possibly of fluvial deposits, was of little use for agriculture due to continuous erosion, which eventually formed the ravines.

These factors served as an essential background to cultural evolution in the region. There is little trace of Bronze Age cultures in Gwalior region, but those of the Stone Age and Iron Age are encountered here in plenty. Among these, the Stone Age archaeological cultures are distributed on the banks of the Chambal and its tributaries and show a pattern of movement of early man from the tops of the hills to their slopes and then on to the valleys. Information about Iron Age settlements is also available and indicates a slow pace of development.[56] Ethnographically today, only the Saharias, Bhils and Bhilala represent the indigenous people in this entire region.

---

[55] The Gwalior Group is represented by sandstone, shale and traps, generally with east-west trending hill ranges in Gwalior, Datia and southern parts of Bhind Dist. The beds show a northerly dip and are overlain by Vindhyan rocks of the Kaimur Group, dipping northwards and westwards. The Upper Cambrian formation in the region lies in the Gwalior-Shivpuri-Datia and Guna belt, which geologically is classed also as Puranas. I owe these details to my friend, late Dr. V.K. Nayak.

[56] Archaeological excavations in the region have yielded varied results. These indicate a profile of this region vastly different from that in the core of the Malwa region. The most flourishing period in the Gwalior region, as revealed by excavations, relates to a time bracket from mid-second century BC to first century AD. Gilaulikhera excavations (1981-82, 1983-84) revealed a protohistoric phase without copper or bronze but with chocolate-slipped Kayatha Ware and the cultures up to the 'post Gupta' phase. Sooron (1979, 1983-84) generally repeats Jaderua (1971-72), which shows archaeological cultures from the middle of the first millenium BC to second century CE, with a gap between the early historical phase and the Gurjara Pratihāra times. The Gupta phase is missing in the evidence. Tumain (1971-72), (1972-73) provides a sequence from the fifth century BC to the twelfth century CE. Cf. *Indian Archaeology, A Review* 1971-72, 29-30; 1972-73, 15-16; 1981-82, 33-34; 1983-84, 51-52: also Sharma, R. A. (1987): "Excavations at Sooron-1984" in Shastri et al. (1987): Vol. I, pp. 73-80.

Religion, besides trade, emerges as the prime mover, for inscriptions from the sixth century onwards indicate that the military commanders of the Hūṇas and, later, of the Gurjara Pratihāras constructed a temple or two during their regime. Most of this activity centred on the hill feature of Gwalior, which was variously designated as Gopagiri, Gopādri *durga*, Gopācala *durga*,[57] or even Gwālikera[58] and Gopāhvaya.

Ḍāhala[59] is conspicuous for its Late Pre-Cambrian Vindhyan Super Group with its Semri, Kaimur, Rewa, Panna and Bhander sediments. Semris are best exposed in Rewa, Sidhi, Shahdol and Jabalpur tracts in the east. They bifurcated as they extended westwards, with one belt running along the Son River in Satna and in Jabalpur District and the other along the northern limits of the Vindhyan terrain in the Bundelkhand region. The Kaimur Group is important in the Son Valley. The Gondwana rocks of Madhya Pradesh occupy parts of Jabalpur. The Narmada is a major river flowing towards the west in between the Vindhya and Satpura ranges. The Vindhyas and their woodlands are conspicuous by their presence in this region too, extending north of Narmada ENE-WSW for a distance of nearly six hundred km. In the eastern part of Madhya Pradesh, the area is intensely peneplained with scattered hills and ridges. The Son River here flows towards ENE direction and the Son Valley forms a major lineament.

This variability of the mountain system[60] in the region seems to have been noticed in ancient texts as well, especially as the Vindhya is described as *kulaparvata*,[61] and inscriptions refer to its different ranges including Ucchakalpa,[62] *Bhramaraśaila*[63] and *Pītaśaila*,[64] among others. Such physical features offer a glimpse of the land and the settings of its archaeological cultures. This deeply forested region was inhabited by many indigenous communities, like Pulinda, Kāruṣa, Śabara and Bhilla.[65] In terms of archaeological profile, the relics of Stone Age

---

57. Fleet (1963): 162, fn 1.
58. Cf, Trivedi, H.V. (1989): VII, iii, 551, v. 5. Gwālikera would be a settlement of a cattle-rearing, pastoral community, derived from *gopāla-kheṭaka*, i.e. cowherds' settlements, *gwāl* signifying *gopāla* (cowherd) and *kera* derived from *kheṭaka*, which together would qualify a habitation with 'a hill on one side and a river on the other.' This feature fits with Gwalior's natural settings. For this interpretation of *kheṭaka*, Cf. Misra (1997b): 75-76.
59. Variant: Ḍabhālā, Cf., Raychaudhuri, Hemachandra (1953): 538, 560 and 595.
60. The mountain system in the region has ranges rising between 150 and 600 meters above the Sea Level.
61. In the Purāṇas, Vindhya is one of the seven mountain chains (*kulaparvata*) associated with many legends. Agastya kicked it down; Sunda and Upasunda, the fierce Asuras preformed their intense penance here. It was also the eternal abode of Durgā. Cf., Vettam Mani (2010): 857
62. Agrawal (1987): 38, quoting Malalasekera, *DPPN*, p.101
63. Mirashi (1955): 200.
64. Rewa Stone Insc of Karṇa, Mirashi (1955): 282.
65. Agrawal (1987): 220-234. Today, the chief tribal communities in the region consist of Baiga, Bijwar, Bharotia, Narotiya, Oraon, Khairwar, Gond, Baiswar, Panika, Pathari, Bhara, Baland etc. Cf., Rao, A. N. (2000) *Puratattva, Sanskriti aur Paryatana*, (in Hindi) Allahabad: Kitab Mahal, pp. 33-34.

cultures have been reported from the Rewa, Satna and Sidhi Districts with the largest share going to Sidhi district.[66] Sporadic and scanty information on Chalcolithic and Megalithic phases has also been recorded in the region.[67] Buddhism made its mark in this Vindhyan tract with *stūpa*s at Bharhut, Deour Kothara complex and Dunda Garhi.[68]

The ancient texts repeatedly recall the starkly fierce and undomesticated character of this dreaded region that was encompassed within what is described as *vindhyāṭavī*.[69] The Vindhyas figure in the Vanaparva of the *Mahābhārata* variously as *ghora aṭavī* (61.18), *dāruṇa aṭavī* (61.10), *mahāraṇya* (61.24), and *mahāghora vana* (61.25) dotted by high, rocky hills (61.38) which the *āṭavika*s inhabited.[70]

In defining the Śaiva Siddhānta as the product of the material milieu of the *vindhyāṭavī* region, one may encounter many unconventional features of socio-economic and political development amenable to alternative premises of historical interpretation, not necessarily based on conventional mechanism of state society. Rather than looking for an operating system based on that model we may have to look for its roots in the forest-based (*āṭavika*) institutions and their organizing mechanism.

Together, *aṭavī* and *āṭavika* signify a state of culture and ways of life lived by woodland communities away from the villages and cities. Ancient texts and inscriptions knew of several such woodlands and their people, including Koṭāṭavī, Vaṭāṭavī and Sahalāṭavī.[71] Varāhamihira and Bānabhaṭṭa mention the *vindhyāṭavī*s and Kālidāsa regards the *vindhyapada* (foot of the Vindhyas) as their abode. The *Harṣacarita* (Parab 2005: 227-30), a text of seventh century,[72] tends to impart tangibility and substance to both *aṭavī* and *āṭavika*s in conjunction with the

---

[66] Cf., *Indian Archaeology: A Review*, 1979-80: 27, 39, 50-52, 49-50 (Nakjhar Khurd, Patpara, Ghagharia, Bhagor); 1982-83: 57 (Bhagor/Baghor); 57-58 (Madhauli).

[67] *Indian Archaeology: A Review*, 1980-81: 40-41 (Megaliths from Amahata); 38-39 (Chalcolithic and Megaliths from Munhai, Distt Rewa).

[68] Singh, A.K., "Buddhist Stupa Complex at Deour Kothara and Dundi Gadhi and the Monuments in its Neighbourhood", *Puratattva* 38: 202-203.

[69] The term is used in the *Harṣacarita*, *ucchvāsa* 8, cf. Parab (2005): 231. For graphic details of this inhospitable land, its ecology, its autochthonous Śabara people, specially, Śarabhaketu, Vyāghraketu, Bhūkampa and Nirghāta besides its ascetics given to penance. *Ibid*, pp. 231-240.

[70] Cf., Agrawala (1964): 181 quoting these references.

[71] See Raychaudhuri, Hemchadra (1953): 538, fn.1. Koṭāṭavī figures in the commentary on Sandhyākara Nandin's *Rāmacarita*, Vaṭāṭavī in *E.I.* 7, p. 126 and Sahalāṭavī in *E.I.*, 10 (1909-10): Luder's List no. 1195. The *āṭavikas*' presence in Ḍāhala is known from the records of Parivrājaka Mahārājas, feudatories of the Imperial Guptas in early sixth century.

[72] The *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, before that, extensively refers to *aṭavī*, *āṭavika*s and their chiefs, (also *durgāṭavī*, 'fortresses in the forest'), painting them generally as belligerent, rebellious woodland people to be harnessed by state as troops or to serve its defensive or offensive manoeuvres. Despite its apprehensions about *āṭavikas*, it recognizes their value as a militant force against enemies. However, it seems perpetually suspicious of them preferring to crush them if they are not useful.

Vindhyas of central India. *Aṭavī*, in the text, figures as a typical ecological zone with its starkly natural and harsh ambience, its resources, flora, fauna, and its *āṭavika* Śabara people who were not insignificantly dependent on hunting and gathering in the absence of significant agricultural pursuits. A distinction seems to have been made in these descriptions between the forest settlement and nascent village(s) coming up on its fringes.

The text (Parab 2005: 227-230) demonstrates that life in the raw and predatory surroundings of savage *aṭavī* woodlands was not secure as survival was fraught with danger in many ways including peril of wild animals. The subsistence of the communities and people there depended largely on hunting and gathering from the woods. The woodlands were conspicuous for their intractability and for the hard life of resident communities, the Śabara, for instance.[73]

The *Harṣacarita* (Parab 2005: 227-30) considers *aṭavī*, 'woodland', territory to be full of travails; traversing it had its pains: *mahāṭavī paryaṭana kleśa*... A journey through its thorny paths in the wooded surroundings was hazardous (*durupagama śyāmākprarūḍhibhiḥ alambuṣā bahulaiḥ*). There was always the fear of 'sudden attacks by wild animals' (*śvāpadopadravaṃ*). Yet, the *aṭavī* inhabitants—men, women and children—had their tasks cut out to meet the essential needs of living in the raw woodland surroundings. Apprehensive of danger that lurked around, the village women (*cintāvyagragrāmeyikā*), living on the fringes of woodland, frantically collected forest produce, moving about at a fast pace. Hunting and bird catching was a common practice and fowlers (*śākunika*s) foraged out to catch birds, especially partridges (*kapiñjala*) sometimes using hawks and call birds (*grāhaka-krakara*). Young men assisted by dogs went for small game. These were the less dangerous of the hunting errands, for there were other fierce hunters (*vyādha*) too who traversed the woods carrying their nets (*mṛgatantutantrī jāla*) and snares (*bahir vyādhaiḥ vicaradbhiransāvasaktavītaṃ savyāla lambamāna bālapāśikaiśca*) for a big catch (*śvapada vyadhana vyavadhāna bahalī samāropita kuṭīkṛta kūṭapāśaiśca*). Training started early to groom the young ones in catching birds as a resource for living. We are told of children, holding their nets, frolicking, jesting and searching through climbers and creepers to prey on birds.

The *Harṣacarita* (Parab 2005: 227-30) also refers to a 'huge banyan tree encircled with cowpens in the forest settlement with 'granaries of wild grains'. These cowpens, made of dry sticks around banyan trees (*śuṣka-śākhā-sañcaya-racita govaṭa-veṣṭhita vikaṭa-vaṭaiḥ*), were protected by tiger traps which, it is said, were 'constructed in fury at the slaughter of young calves' (*vyāpādita-vatsarūpakaroṣaracita vyāghrayantraiḥ*). Its settlers were so wary of intruders that they would `violently seize the axes' (*kāṣṭhika kuṭhāra*) 'of the trespassing woodcutters'. A section of the forest had a shrine to goddess Cāmuṇḍā (*gahana-taru-khaṇḍa nirmita cāmuṇḍā-maṇḍapaiḥ vanapradeśaiḥ*). The *āṭavika*s practising slash-and-burn cultivation used to burn the husk of the wild (*ṣaṣṭhī*) rice and clouds of smoke filled the sky (*dahyamāna ṣaṣṭhika ...dhūmena dhūsarimānaṃ*). The plough was unknown to them, the soil too was unfavourable and they used the hoe (*kuddāla*) instead for their incipient agricultural pursuits. Some of the varieties of grain in the *aṭavī* consisted of *ṣaṣṭhī* (Parab 2005: 227), *śyāmaka* (millets, *Panicum frumentaceum*),[74] *tandula triṇa* (Parab 2005: 227) and *gavedhuka* (*Coix barbata*).[75] We are specifically told that the cultivators near the woodland agitated about sustenance of their dependents, worked on plots of land, making loud noises as they broke the earth with their hoes (*prakāśamānaṃ aṭavīprāyaprāntatayā kuṭumbabharaṇākulaiḥ kuddālaprayakṛiṣibhiḥ kṛṣībalaiḥ abalavadbhiḥ uccabhāgabhāṣitena*). The black soil in the territory was hard to break (*kṛṣnamṛttikā kaṭhinaiḥ*).[76] So, they would parcel out portions of land into small plots for working. Platforms for surveillance were built overlooking such plots that had a growing crop; still they were exposed to dangers from wild animals. Sometimes carts were used to carry clay and manure (*purāṇa-pānsūtkira-karīṣa-kūṭa-vāhinīnāṃ-dhūrgata-dhūlidhūsara-sairibha- saroṣasvara sāryamāṇānaṃ...*) to enrich (*rūkṣakṣetra saṃsakāraṃ*) the soil of the 'gaunt' earth (*durbala urvī*) for cultivation (Parab 2005: 229).

---

[73] The *Harṣacarita* (Parab 2005: 228) describes *kuṭumbika*s who ventured into the woods to collect wood in the *aṭavī* (...*naikaṭika-kuṭumbika-lokena kāṣthasamgrahārtha aṭavīṃ praviśatā*...) Agrawal (1964: 187) identifies *kuṭumbin* with Kunabi, a tribal community. The community is still represented in the Kaimur ranges of the Vindhyas. However, he concedes that the term might as well mean 'householder'.

The *Harṣacarita* (Parab 2005: 227) graphically describes the hard life in the woods where habitation was sparse and 'plots were thinly dispersed' (*bhajyamāna śālikhalakṣetra khanḍalaka alpāvakāśaiśca kāpilaiḥ*). The ponds in the Sal (*Shorea robusta*) and Kadamba (*Neolamarckia cadamba*) groves (*aṭavi sulabha sāla...*) were fenced with thorny *nāgaphanī* (*Opuntia*) growth. Nevertheless, forest produce was abundant. The *vindhyāṭavī*, with its plentiful and diverse flora, yielded much that people could carry away for consumption, distribution or perhaps marketing to the nearby markets.[77] The *Harṣacarita* (Parab 2005: 228) also indicates the presence of artisans in the Vindhyas who burnt wood to get coal for smelting iron (*kvacit anyatragrāhayantamiva aṅgāriya dārusaṃgraha dahibhiḥ vyokaraiḥ*).

---

[74] Macdonnel and Keith (1995 rep.): II, 75, identify *śyāmaka* as a millet, the *śyāmaka tandula* as Max Muller's canary seed (p. 399) and *tandula* as rice (*Oryza sativa*), *ibid.* p. 579. *Śyāmaka* is probably a "little millet" (Hindi *kākuna*). It was a *muni*'s beloved food: *śyāmakaḥ triṇabījaśca munibhakṣyo gavāmpriyaḥ/sukumāro rājadhānyaṃ triṇabījottamaśca saḥ, Dhanavantari Nighaṇṭu*, quoted in Warrier, P. K. et al. (1993): 211. These scholars identify it as *Panicum sumatrense*, while other sources suggest that the *śyāmaka* is *Setaria italica*. Gonda, Jan (1987: 175) quotes the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (9. 1. 1. 8), identifying it as a *caru* that is "Rudra's normal oblation." A *caru* of *śyāmaka* is offered to Soma. *Ibid*, p. 162.

[75] Agrawala (1964: 187, fn.6) describes it as a kind of rice plant. Macdonnel and Keith identify *gavedhuka* as *Coix barbata*, a grass-family plant.

[76] *Harṣacarita* (Parab): 227. This kind of soil was not conducive for growth of some plants but the text mentions them in reference to *vindhyāṭavi*! Cf, *infra*, p. 25, fn. 125.

[77] Parab (2005): 228-229. These included barks of *śīdhu*, bags full of medicinal red *ghātakī* blossoms (*dhātutviṣa*), linseed (*alasi*), cotton, jute, honey, wax, peacock feathers, *khadira* tree bark, *kuṣṭha* and *rodhra* (medicinal herb). They could have been taken to market. In fact, inscriptions do refer

The woodland householders (*aṭavīkuṭumbin*) had their wattle and daub dwellings within wooded enclosures in green surroundings. The dwellings were sparsely scattered (*ativiprakṛṣṭantara*) and could be identified by the cries of the poultry kept by the household. The plants in the fields around the dwellings were devoured by trespassing deer even as hares hurriedly nibbled at new shoots, wary of the large bones of wild buffalo that were stuck out in the fields to scare them off. Approaches to these dwellings were blocked by thorny *karanja* (*Pongamia*) shrubs difficult to cross through.[78] The small gardens around homes (*gṛhavāṭikā*) were full of plants such as *urubuka* (castor, *Ricinus communis*), *vaca* (*Acorus calamus*), *vaṅgaka* (brinjal: *Solanum melongena*), *surasa* (fennel/basil, *Foeniculum vulgare/Ocimum tenuiflorum*), *surana* (yam, *Amorphophallus*), *sigru* (drumsticks, *Moringa*), *granthiparṇa* (fenugreek, *Trigonella corniculata*), and *garmuta* (wild beans).[79] An Agastya (*Sesbania grandiflora*) tree grew in the courtyard of the dwelling, and tiny offspring of *vanaviḍāla* (cat), *māludhāna* (snake? ichneumon?), *nakula* (mongoose), and *śālijāta* roamed around. These dwellings also contained coal dumps covered with flowers and other beautifying decorations. Women stored objects of utility and other dainties (*nalśāli, śāluka, khaṇḍakumuda, veṇutandula*) and seeds of different kinds, including *rājadāna* (*chironji, Buchanania lanzan*) and *madanaphala* (*Catunaregum spinosa*). Almost every household possessed *madhūka* (*Madhuca longifolia*) flower extract or liquor (*madhūka-āsava-madya*).

Despite its intimidating hazards,[80] the *vindhyāṭavī* and its sylvan environs in the *Harṣacarita* have some nature-specific, pleasant details too.[81] These refer to its flora and fauna, myriad varieties of trees, water bodies, groves, all in their natural, unspoilt surroundings where different animals—elephants, antelopes, wolves and small felines, birds of different kinds—found succour. The pervasive spiritual ambience of the Vindhyan forest seems stressed in reference to its differently inclined ascetics.[82] The Vindhyas evoked varied responses from the

---

to two such market-places in the vicinity of the monastic seats of the Siddhānta *munis*, one at Siyadoni (Siron Khurd in Lalitpur Distt) and the other at Bilhari near Jabalpur. The latter was controlled by the *maṭha* of Bilhari and the former marks the presence of a *mahāsāmanatādhipati* named Undabhaṭa whose association with Terahi in Gopācala is firmly recorded in a local epigraph. Terahi was a far-famed seat of the Siddhānta *munis* and had an imposing *maṭha* that has survived.

[78] Parab 2005: 229. *Karanja* is not a thorny shrub; it is a tree that produces oil-rich seeds. Could Bāṇabhaṭṭa probably have meant the thorny *karaunda* (*Carissa carandas*)?

[79] Cf., Agrawala (1964): 187. Parab (2005): 229.

[80] Cf., Parab (2005): 240: Bāṇabhaṭṭa refers to its hazards: *aśubha-śabara-bala-bahulaṃ, agaṇita-gaja-kulakalilaṃ, aparimita-mṛgapati-śarabha-bhayaṃ, urumahiṣamuṣita-pathika-gamanaṃ, atiniśita-śarakuśaparuṣaṃ...*

[81] Parab (2005): 234-35.

[82] The different sects (and their ascetics) listed here included Arhat, Maskarin, Pāṇḍuri, Bhāgavat,

courtiers of Harṣa. So, when in contact with it 'some assumed a monk's robe, some studied the system of Kapila (i.e. *Sāṅkhya*), some abandoned gratification of the senses and lived on a limited diet, others reached old age in the hermitages and yet others finally took vows and roamed as shaven monks.'[83]

The descriptions of *āṭavika*s of the *vindhyāṭavī* in the *Harṣacarita* are no less picturesque, emphasizing that the region was full of the 'ill-omened Śabaras' (*aśubha śabarabala bahulaṃ*). The text underscores their uncouth bearing and fierce disposition. Its account of Nirghāta, a Śabara youth in the *vindhyāṭavī*, profiling his bearing and outfit may be worthy of note here to indicate what the *āṭavika*s might have looked like or been perceived as typically.[84] The text describes this strongly built Śabara, blooming in youth (*prathama yauvanollikhyamān...*), as one who was the very epitome of violence (*hṛdayahiṃsāyāḥ*). Like a 'shining pillar made on a lathe' (*yantrollikhitam-aśmasāra-stambhamiva*), as it were, he moved as a 'black mountain' (*añjanaśilācchedamiva calantaṃ*), "gushing out like molten iron out of a Vindhyan cauldron" (*ayaḥsāramiva girervindhyasya galantaṃ*). The awesome bearing of the Śabara youth, described as a 'moving *tamāla* [date palm] tree', was not without substance for he appeared no less than a death trap to deer (*kālapāśaṃ kuraṅgayūthānāṃ*), fever to tuskers (*pākalam karikulānāṃ*), fire to lions (*dhūmaketuṃ mṛgarājacakrāṇāṃ*), and death to buffaloes (*mahānavamīmahaṃ mahiṣamaṇḍalānāṃ*). He looked every bit as if he was the 'retribution of sins' (*phalamiva pāpasya*) or, 'the cause of the Kali age' (*kāraṇamiva kalikālasya*) or, 'the consort of the Night of Destruction' (*kāmukamiva kālaratreḥ*). His flat nose, big chin, strong jaws and high cheekbones (*avanāṭanāsikaṃ, cipiṭādharaṃ, cikinacibukaṃ ...utkaṭa kapola...*) emphasised his ferocity and strength. His lofty forehead was generously covered with black hair and the skin between the eyebrows folded like a trident (*triśākha*). His eyes with scant eyelashes were sticky and red, the neck was slightly bent on one side; his arms were long and chest broad. In all that, his build and bearing were imposing and awe-inspiring. He wore a glass bead (*kācamaṇi*) on the ear lobe and had a parrot feather tucked behind his ear. His outfit included a dagger in a sheath of snake-skin overlaid with a patch of tiger skin even as its hilt stood out on a deerskin. He also carried a poisoned arrow in one hand and a bearskin sack covered with a tiger's striped hide (*sabala śārdūla carmapaṭa*), in which he carried more arrows. He wore tattoos on his strong solid arms, had a bow slung on his left shoulder and carried in style the game he had hunted—parrots, partridges and rabbits.[85]

Varṇi, Keśaluñcanaka, Kāpila, Jain, Lokāyata, Kaṇāda, Kāraṇika, Kārandhami, Dharmaśāstrin, Paurāṇika, Sāptatantu, Śabda, Pāñcarātrika and 'others', who were engaged in discursive learning of their doctrines: *svānsvān siddhānta...*, Parab (2005): 236-237.

[83] Cowell and Thomas (1960): 225-227.

[84] Cf., *Harṣacarita* (Parab 2005): 231-32).

[85] This youth, Nirghāta, presented his animal-catch to Harṣa on meeting him and took him to the *āśrama*-ic retreat of Divākarasena, a Pārāśarin Buddhist monk. Then, guided by a monk, they all proceeded to the woods where they rescued Rājyaśrī. The youth then went his way, richer with gifts

The *Harṣacarita*'s picture of *vindhyāṭavī*, its people and its surroundings looks holistic, integrating its perils as well as splendours, unlike that in the *Arthaśāstra* written several hundred years earlier. The *Arthaśāstra* appears overly apprehensive of the *āṭavika*s and is loaded with fiats for controlling and deploying them to serve the State's aggressive designs. This text explicitly regards both forests and villages as trophies of a conqueror's activity (*dvividham vijigīṣo samutthānaṃ-āṭavyādikaṃ eka gramādikaṃ ca*, 13.5.1). Both were required to augment the state with their resources. Nevertheless, whether in peace or in war, *āṭavika*s were perpetually perceived as turbulent. They were a threat to the well-being of the subjects of the state for they pillaged and plundered the countryside or fortified cities (3.12.2); forcibly carried away women (4.12.36); attacked caravans, herds or villages (*sārtha-vraja-grāmeṣu*, 4.5.15), induced by outlaws with offers of forest produce and articles of artificial gold. If they ventured into villages to plunder them (*grāmaghātapraviṣṭāṃ*), the State decreed that they should be scattered into smaller groups to be separately decimated (13.3.58).

Yet, the woodland and its tribal communities seem to have been particularly significant in the expansionistic designs of Kauṭilyan State, especially for the troops and forces that the woodlands could afford. In the Kauṭilyan scheme of polity the 'forest tribes' (*āṭavikān*), won over by offers of money and honour (12.3.17, 12.4.1), could be used to destroy kingdoms. Like mercenaries, they would receive money and on receiving appropriate signs and signals, they could be used to storm forts situated in the forest: the operation served its ends of harassing the enemy before a final assault was made to capture it (13.4.50-51). The *Arthaśāstra* recommends recruitment of an *āṭavika* force besides others like *maula*, *bhṛtaka*, *śreṇī*, and *mitra* troopers in the army (*bala*); it also describes the occasions when they might be put to action (9.2.1, 7ff). The *āṭavika* troopers, in particular, were to be employed for showing the way (through the woods: *mārgādeśikaṃ*),[86] or, for being used when suited for the enemy terrain (*parabhūmiyogyaṃ*), or, for counteracting the enemy's mode of fighting (*ariyuddha pratilomaṃ*) or, when the enemy mostly had forest troops (*aṭavībala prāyaḥ śatrurvā*) or, when a small raid was to be repelled (*alpaḥ prasāro hantavyaḥ*; 9.2.8). The *āṭavika* troopers of the enemy needed to be 'crushed' as would be thorns (*kanṭakamardanaṃ etat kariśyāmiḥ*; 9.2.5). The State is advised to remunerate *āṭavika*s (not in cash, but) with commodities or booty (9.2.10). The *Arthaśāstra*

---

of apparel, ornaments etc., (*vasana-alaṅkārādi-pradāna-paritoṣitaṃ visarjya Nirghātaṃ*) after the mission was accomplished. Cf., Parab (2005): 233, 241-257. Agrawala (1964): 189-192; 192-201.

[86] In Andhra and neighbouring regions, the Viragalas from tribal communities were drafted as escorts and to carry things through woodlands. If they failed in their mission, they would prefer to die, by cutting their throat. Several memorial stones of early medieval times representing Viragalas holding a dagger on their throat are preserved in the National Museum (New Delhi). The Banjara community in Gujarat and Rajasthan offered similar services and even delivered goods to their destinations in pre-modern India. For a *banamānas*, 'a man of the forest' (*āṭavika*, in other words) in Andhra hills near Kurnool and their ways of life during the time of Aurangzeb, cf, Habib, Irfan (2010): 104-105.

recommends deploying spies among the forest dwellers (13.3.50) and in the forests to report any activity that could be detrimental to the State (1.12.23). It clubs *āṭavika*s with *mlecchas* (12.4.23) as instruments of carrying out assassination in stealth.

Kauṭilya seems to have been wary of *āṭavika*s, in full awareness of their supercilious disposition and he patently acknowledged that they had "the same characteristics as a king" (*rāja-sadharmāṇa*). Their warlike disposition and autonomous provincial habitat are in reckoning when we are told that "living in their *own territory* [emphasis added] (they) are many in number and brave, fight openly, seize and ruin countries (8.4.43)". It is further stated that the *āṭavika*s, operating in forests on the frontiers far away (*pratyanta-araṇya-carāśca-āṭavika*) are 'openly known and move before the eyes of all, and harm only a part of country' (8.4.41). Though they are clubbed with robbers,[87] a distinction seems to have been made between the proclivities of the two.[88] The *Arthaśāstra* (9.2.18-20; 10.1.9) recommends that the *āṭavika* contingent should be commanded by its own leaders. It cautions that *āṭavika*s had plunder as their objective; when there was no plunder or when there was a calamity there could be danger from them as from a snake (*ahimayaṃ*). In armed conflict they were capable of augmenting disturbances in the rear or on all sides of the battle positions (9.3.1-2); they could be made to attack the rears of enemy's troops in battle formation (*pṛṣṭhābhighātaṃ*: 12.4.19). Some of these roles could be meant for the forest chiefs who are often mentioned in the *Arthaśāstra*. Such chieftains were positioned on the frontiers of the State (9.3.22) so that if they rebelled their revolt would remain restricted to the outlying regions. Deployment of *āṭavika* chieftains on frontiers would suggest that they were meant to be kept away from the centre of power. They were still likely to 'harass kingdoms' (13.3.12). They could also be used to soften the targets before a full scale battle. Kauṭilya recommends that agents of state in disguise should meet the forest chiefs at vulnerable places, offer presents and money and then make them attack the enemy (12.4.1). Spies were also directed to report on proclivities of the forest chieftains (1.13, 23). These chieftains could even be vilified by agents so that their masters would turn against them (13.3.13). They could be overcome by fomenting dissensions (9.7.68), by pitting them against each other "on issues of lending money or vehicles", saying that 'it has been given to such and such chief' (11.1.30). The *Arthaśāstra* is not wanting even in recognizing the possibility of war breaking out between loyal forest chieftains or those in alliance with enemy (1.16.29-30). *Āṭavika* chiefs (*samanta āṭavikānāṃ*) figure in the *Harṣacarita* too.

---

[87] The *Arthaśāstra* 8.4.41, 43 refers to the forest tribes and highway robbers together.

[88] *Arthaśāstra*, 8.4.41: "Of highway robbers and forest tribes, highway robbers operating at night and lying in wait, attack men's bodies, are a constant danger, rob hundreds of thousands (in cash) and stir up principal men while forest tribes, operating in forests on frontiers far away are openly known and move before eyes of all, and harm only a part of the country...". Kangle (1986): II. 400.

Āṭavikas find mention in the edict or records of Aśoka, Samudragupta and others besides the *Harṣacarita*. Everywhere they seem to figure as turbulent whether as people or as 'chiefdoms'. Ultimately, by the sixth century they came to flaunt their quasi-independent nature confederating together into 'Eighteen States'.[89] The details exemplify changing profiles of *āṭavika* life between Mauryan times and those of Harṣa. They also underscore their cultural and political ascendancy in the woodlands (*aṭavīs*) which allowed them to enforce their writ even against imperial rulers. The situation did not alter much in the times of Harṣa in the seventh century.

It appears that hunting and gathering of forest produce remained their chief source of subsistence even in the seventh century; they had not yet taken to agriculture. They were closely knit in lineages with kin groups wielding power, exercising control over their territory and assuming formal titles like *sāmanta* and *senāpati*. The *Harṣacarita* refers to the *āṭavika* chieftain (*sāmanta*) Śarabhaketu. His son was Vyāghraketu who, with the help of a Śabara youth Nirghāta and a monk in the retreat of the Buddhist Divākarasena, found Rājyaśrī in the *vindhyāṭavī*. Nirghāta who knew the 'forest (*vindhyakāntāra araṇya*) by its every leaf' was a nephew of Bhūkampa, yet another chieftain of the Vindhyas (*sarvasyāsya vindhyasya-svāmī*). He is described as the lord of tribal settlements (*sarva-pallī-patīnām*) and commander of the army of the Śabara troopers (*śabara-senāpati*).[90] He was so alert that nothing in the woods escaped his notice—not even the movement of antlers through the forest (*...prāyeṇātra hariṇyo'pi nāparigatāḥ sañcaranti senāpateḥ...*).[91] It is worth noting that occupying a commanding position in their woodland habitat, the *āṭavikas*, whether chieftains or troopers, remained well-conciliated, without being adversarial, to the ascetics of different persuasions who led a reclusive life of meditation and erudition in the woodland.[92]

These details about *vindhyāṭavī* and its people seem to draw out a generic image of the Vindhyan woodlands and its inhabitants. The Gopācala and Ḍāhala specific particulars still need being filled up, which follow, first with reference to the former. An overview of the particulars tends to reflect unconventional historical and institutional contours in the sacred geography of the Siddhānta movement and the ascendancy of its ascetics. These include: the absence of imperial powers in the region; subservience (generally) of the potentates to the ascetics; well-organized and flourishing *maṭhas*; accord between renouncers and the *āṭavikas* located together in the dreaded woodland; the presence of *bhaṭa* chiefs at politically and economically strategic locations like Gopādri, Terambi, Kadambaguha and Siyadoni (modern Siron Khurd)[93]; a turbulent countryside and woodlands; urbanization and *varṇa-jāti* stratification held in abeyance; and the dependence of traders on ascetics and *maṭhas* in the hinterland but their dominance in towns and cities. An outline of this state of affairs follows, dealing first, as we said above, with Gopācala in northern Madhya Pradesh from early historical times to the ninth century and later.

---

[89] *Infra*. pp. 36-37, fns. 195-201.

[90] Parab 2005: 233-34. '...*śabara-senāpati bhūkampo nāma/tasyāyaṃ nirghātanāmā svastrīyaḥ sakalasyāsya vindhyakāntāra-araṇyasya parṇānam'apyabhijñaḥ kimuta pradeśānāṃ*, Parab 2005: 233-34; for Śarabhaketu, *ibid*, 230-31. Also, Agrawala (1964) 189-192; 192-201. A Śabara commander of army is mentioned in a Baragaon record too. Mirashi (1955): 198.

[91] Parab 2005: 233.

[92] *Supra*, pp. 15-16, fns. 82, 83.

GOPĀCALA IN PROFILE

The tracts of ancient Gopācala and its people figure in the *Mahābhārata* in its accounts of the campaigns of Bhīma and Sahadeva.[94] These accounts, read in conjunction with the Puranic geographical descriptions, connect the region with Pāriyātra territory which formed the boundary between the lands of the Vedic and non-Vedic people. Beyond Pāriyātra lay the land of non-Vedic people, according to Baudhāyana (1.125). This territory lay in the vast and deeply forested Vindhyan land mass bounded by the Cedis on the east, the Matsyas on the west, the Śūrasenas on the north and the Rikṣa Mountains on the south, beyond which lay Avanti.[95] The Niṣadhas and tribal communities like the Pulindas and others inhabited this territory, which was served by trade routes going from the north down to Kosala, Dakṣiṇāpatha, Vidarbha and the western coast.[96] Wild animals, *mlecchas* (barbarians) and *taskaras* (robbers) inhabited this region,[97] but it was also famous for its highly reputed hermitages of ascetics who performed penances and lived an austere life – with some subsisting only on water, some on air alone and others living by consuming leaves.[98] One such hermitage of Śarabhanga here was 'a central resort for ascetics'.[99] The Niṣadhas[100] represent the only *janapada* in this wild tract, full of predatory animals and wild elephants.[101] The nature of the Niṣadha state was analogous to that of the contemporary oligarchies as described in the *Mahābhārata*.[102] They represented a political formation in the region during the early historical times, with its complement of gentry (*paurajānapadas*), counsellors (*mantrins*) and an army.[103] They also pursued the Vedic practice of performing *yajñas*[104] in which the ascetics available in vicinity might have served as officiating priests and thereby acquired temporal power and eminence.

---

[93] *Infra*, pp. 27, 29, fns. 147, 159, 160.

[94] Cf., *Mahābhārata*: Sabhā Parva (ch. 31). For the people or communities subjugated in the campaign, *supra*. pp. 8-9, fn. 51. The *Nalopākhyāna* of *Vana Parva* (chs. 52-59) describes the hazards in this region.

[95] *Mahābhārata*, *Sabhāparva*, ch. 31. About *Baudhāyana*, cf. Misra, R. N. (1993b): 60.

[96] *Mahābhārata*., Vanaparva, 62.1; 63.2,18,26,34 etc.

[97] *Ibid*., 61.21-23. For *mlecchas*, Nāgas (*karkoṭaka nāga*), *mṛga-vyādha* (hunters) and *taskaras* (bands of robbers) populating this land, cf., *Mahābhārata*, Vanaparva, 64-2, 24-34

[98] These ascetics performed penances and lived an austere life - with some subsisting only on water, some on air alone and others living by consuming leaves. *Ibid*., 64.62-65

[99] Pargiter located it somewhere near Narwar, Dist. Shivpuri, on the northern slopes of the Vindhyas. *Cf*., Bhattacharya (1977): 256.

[100] *Mahābhārata*, Vanaparva, chs. 52-79.

[101] *Ibid*. 64. 39; also ch. 65.

[102] The conflict within the kin group in segments of the same lineage, as was the case with the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas, is seen in the case of Nala and his cousin Puṣkara. The game of dice

The Niṣadhas, however, hardly serve as a generic model of state formation in this region, for no such organization is mentioned in cases of the other tribes like the Bhadakana for instance, who figure in a second century BCE Tunda Bharka Khoh inscription[105] painted in a natural rock shelter. The inscription refers to federated nature of kins in a group and hints at the presence of matrilineal bands or communities apparently exercising control in the woodlands. Śivarakṣita of the inscription traces his descent from his mother Kauśikī. In another instance, we have 'Kāsīputra' Bhāgabhadra of the Heliodorus Pillar inscription from Vidisha.[106] In both the cases, the reference to matrilineal descent is noteworthy. The characterization of the Bhadakanas and other communities or tribes mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*[107]apparently underscores their *āṭavika*[108] mode of kin- or territory- or lineage-based divisions prevalent in the *aṭavīs* of the region. Kin groups among the woodland tribes seem to have been well entrenched in Gopācala, as was the case about the Śarabha chieftains in the *Harṣacarita*. In such circumstances, the classical matrix of a State with a Kṣatriya as a ruler may not be relevant. On the contrary, they may have functioned as what Sahlins calls 'segmented lineage',[109] predatory in nature, allied together against a common enemy, but

---

was responsible for the misfortunes of Nala.

[103] *Mahābharata*, Vanaparva, 59.9, 11; 53.3-4.

[104] *Mahābhārata*, Vanaparva, 57.44.

[105] Jain, J. P. (1984): 241. Pl. LXXVI. The inscription was discovered in a forested tract of Tunda Bharka Khoh in Shivpuri district (Madhya Pradesh). Bajpai (1987: 323) reads the inscription as: *bhāgavatena Kinharakhitena Bhadakanasa Sabhatikena Kosikiputena Śivarakhitena Kata*. The *bhadakana* brethrens' organization was not formed on the Niṣadha lines. *Sabhatikena* may signify federated nature of their group with bonds of kinship predominating. The inscription refers to rock paintings by Śivarakṣita, who was the son of Kauśikī. Kṛṣṇarakṣita and his *bhadakana* brethren were Bhāgavatas. The inscription is not incised, but painted on rock

[106] Goyal, Sriram (1982) *Prachin Bharatiya Abbhilekh Sangraha* (In Hindi) Jaipur, p. 156. Matrilineal descent is mentioned also in a Bharhut inscription. Bharhut is in the eastern Vindhyan region. Cf, Misra, Rama Nath (1971) *Bharhut*, pp. 2, 75.

[107] *Supra*, p. 9, fn. 51.

[108] cf. Misra, R. N. (1999):59-64.

[109] Thapar, (2010): 301, quoting Sahlins 1961: 332-45; Also, Yamamoto (1987): 205-237. For the inadequacy of the 'segmentary state model' and its critique, see Chattopadhyaya (2012): 222- 223. What we wish to emphasize is the lack of a strong political presence of potentates and of the institutions of state society in the hinterland, which allowed the Siddhānta ascetics to assume power and authority to which the potentates submitted without demur. This dispensation is apparent both in Gopācala and in Ḍāhala: in Ḍāhala under the Kalacuris and in Gopācala under the local potentates, such as the Chaulukyas, Later Pratihāras, Yājvapālas and even the Gurjara Pratihāras.

inimical to each other, when the external threat disappeared. The nature of their political organization is not yet appropriately explored, but their turbulence may be anticipated based on oft-described ecological settings of their habitat, where life was hard and threats abounded, territory mattered though land, not yet peasantry-driven, hardly offered agrarian pursuits.[110]

The region was avoided by all, excepting traders[111] and ascetics,[112] because of the risks it entailed from wild animals[113] and wild tribes, which find mention in the *Nalopakhyāna* of the *Mahābhārata.* Even traders' caravans were not safe in this territory. In legend, the one that Damayantī joined on being deserted by Nala was destroyed by a herd of wild elephants despite the fact that it had taken shelter in a comparatively secure and safe spot within the forest.[114] In such a wild environment, forest tribes practised animal husbandry and subsisted on forest produce. Cattle raids on villages close to woodlands were common and the practice continued until the middle ages. A memorial inscription of the Gupta times, for instance, refers to a *mahattara* (community chief) losing life in a *goharaṇa* (cattle raid) episode.[115] Such memorial pillars (9th-10th century) celebrating warriors are preserved in the Gujari Mahal Archaeological Museum of Gwalior (**Pls. 1A, 1B**).[116] Many more of such memorial stones are found scattered in the interior of the region. Natural rock shelters sometimes served as the habitat of woodland dwellers, for we have an early reference to the Bhadakanas, whose cave habitat of the

---

[110] The *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya bears out that the State generally regarded the forest and its people as ominous. Such perceptions continued in medieval India, when the State remained wary of forests, regarding them as "unwelcome barriers to its authority and a refuge for the malcontent," Cf, Habib, I. (2010): 95.

[111] Misra (1999): 62; also *E.I.* 1, (1892): 159, 160, which suggests a town council (*vāra*) at Gwalior with strong representation of traders. Cf. also Chattopadhyaya (2012): 143-148. Chakrabarti, Dilip (2005: 104-195) describes the significance of routes that connected to Padmāvatī (Dist. Gwalior).

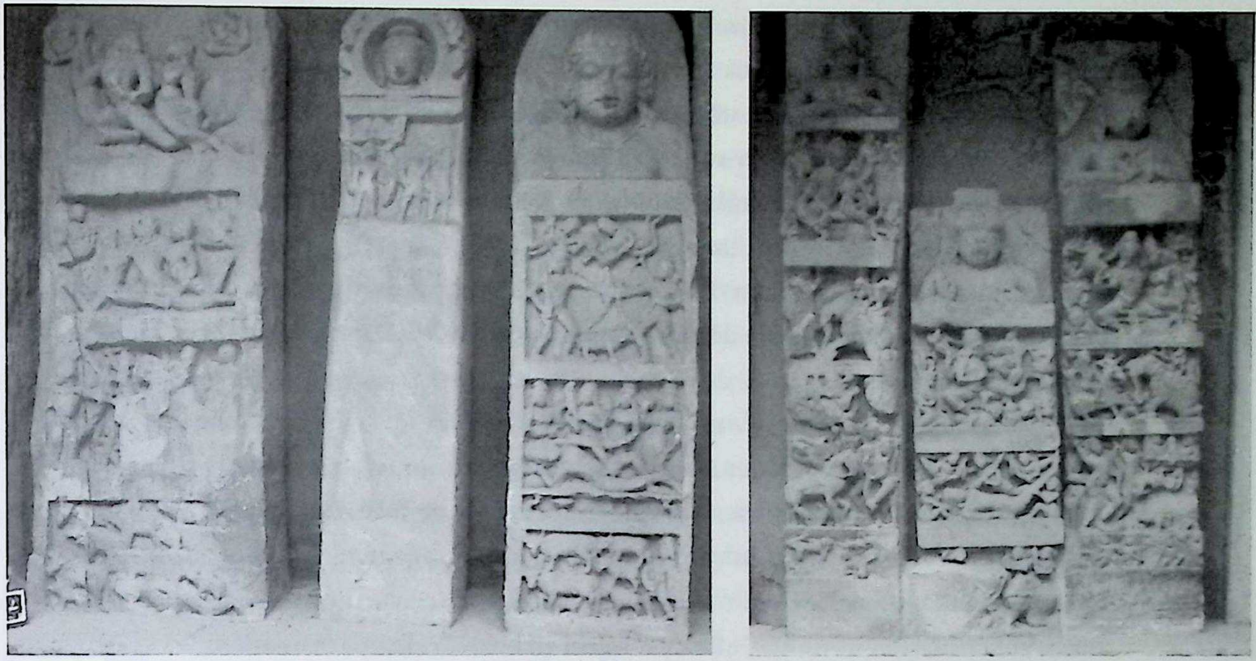
[112] *Mahābhārata*, Vanaparva., 64.62-65; Cowell and Thomas (1961): 161; Bhattacharya (1977): 255-256.

[113] In the forest tract, there were many kinds of trees and there were caves (*darī*), lakes, rivers, ponds, *giri-kūṭa*, etc. where elephants, tigers, boar, bear and different kinds of deer roamed. *Mahābhārata*, Vanaparva., 64.31-32,39; 63.18: *vane svāpada sevite.*

[114] *Ibid.*, 64. 111-12,123; also, chapter 65. On being deserted by Nala, Damayantī is said to have roamed around for three nights and three days. Then she came across a *mahāsārtha* with a large contingent of horses, elephants and chariots crossing a river. Accompanying the *sārthavāha*, she arrived in a very 'fearsome' forest, where they all took shelter. However, a herd of wild elephants destroyed the entire caravan, its elephants, camels, horses and men (*sarva-samṛiddha-sārtha-maṇḍalaṃ*).

[115] Singh, A.K. (1994-95): 137-142, plates 154-160, especially 139.

[116] In Pl. 1A, two of the stone-slabs depict fighting during a cow-lifting (*go-haraṇa*) raid. The memorial stones in the centre and on the right are from Padhavali; the one on right has an inscription that refers to a father and his son as *mahattara* which title would identify them as leaders of the local community. For the other warriors on **Pl. 1B**, see *Infra*, p. 104 and footnotes 95-98. The *goharaṇa* (cow-lifting) scenes depicted on these memorial stones are in keeping with practice of *āṭavikas* as mentioned in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya.



Pl. 1 (A, B). Memorial pillars (9th-10th century) celebrating warriors, Gujari Mahal Archaeological Museum, Gwalior.

second century BCE is decorated with paintings of proto-historic genre.[117] There is little information about the conventional political formations in the *āṭavikas*' settlements in these details.

This description of the Gopādri region and its environment[118] underscores the preponderantly *āṭavika* character of the land and its people and their existence in isolation. Either this isolation was broken by the intervention of ascetics, who formed a marginal community originally, or, by the traders who led the passing caravans.[119] The *āśrama*-ic resorts of ascetics were probably the only organized settlements, besides the Niṣadha *janapada*, located in the midst of deep and dense forests sparsely inhabited by the *āṭavikas*. The presence of bands of *taskaras* (robbers)[120] is easily explained by the movement of traders' caravans in the territory.

Padmāvatī (modern Pawaya, Dist. Gwalior) and Kāntipurī (Kutwar, Dist. Morena) somewhat later, were the early urbanite settlements in this region. Padmāvatī had even a *rājā* (Śivanandin),[121] besides a 'guild' (*gosṭhī*) of the devotees (*bhaktas*) of Maṇibhadra, the Yakṣa protector of traders, in the first century CE.[122] Padmāvatī apparently served as a safe halting station for traders. Kāntipurī and Padmāvatī subsequently served as the seats of Nāga rulers.[123] No other settlement finds mention in the early sources. For instance, the *Sutta Nipāta* refers to the Brāhmaṇa Bāvarī of Kosala, whose disciples went from Godavari region to Śrāvastī via Māhiṣmatī, Ujjayinī, Gonarda (modern Guna) and *vana-sāhvaya*.[124] In this entire route, only the woodlands (*vanasāhvaya*) of Tumbavana (Tumain in Guna District) besides Gonarda (Guna) in Gopācala region find mention.

---

[117] *Supra*, p. 21 fn. 105.

[118] For what constituted the centre and periphery in the Gopādri region, see Mishra, B.D. (1993): 1-10.

[119] A chief of the caravan told Damayantī (when she accompanied his caravan after being abandoned by Nala), that he reaped much 'profit' from his sales and transactions in the territory outside the forest tracts (of Gopācala region). Cf., *Mahābhārata*, vanaparva, 64. 130, 132. Misra (1999): 64-65, fn. 41.

[120] *Mahābhārata*, vanaparva, 64, 24-34. The trade routes through the territory to Dakṣiṇāpatha, Vidarba and the western coast were infested by wild animals, barbarians and robbers. See, Misra (1999): 62.

Economically, the value of land as property was not recognized in the forest tracts, at least until the time of Harṣa. As noticed above, the *Harṣacarita* refers only to small agricultural clearings in the *aṭavīs* where *śaṣṭhī* (wild) rice, forest produce and hunting were the main source of subsistence.[125] The traders passing through the region might have looked for ivory,[126] which was a valuable commodity available in this land of plentiful forest produce and teeming herds of elephant.[127]

---

[121] Cf. Dwivedi, (VS 2004): 84, no. 625.

[122] *Ibid.* Maṇibhadra, the Yakṣa worshipped by traders is mentioned in an inscription from Mashrafa near Kosam (anc. Kauśāmbī), dated in the end of the first century BCE. Cf., Ghosal, S.N. (1980) "Some Reflections on the Kosam Stone Inscription', in Basham, A.L. et al. (eds.) *Corpus of Indian Studies: Essays in Honour of Professor Gauri Nath Shastri*, Calcutta: Sanskrit Pustak Bhandar, pp.378-382. It refers to the construction of an altar by Asika of a *gahapati* family in honour of Maṇibhadra. Its Sanskrit rendering begins with *namaḥ bhagavate sārthavāhāya Maṇibhadrāya*...

[123] Trivedi, H.V. (1957): *intro*, pp. xxxiii-xxxvi.

[124] Bhattacharya, Pranab Kumar (1977): 4, quoting Sylvan Levi's citation of the *Sutta Nipāta*, vv. 976-77, 1011-13.

[125] Cowell and Thomas, ed. & tr. (1961) *Harṣacarita of* Bāṇabhaṭṭa, Delhi (rep.), p. 225. The black soil here was as stiff as iron; fields were protected by scaffolds; *kuśa* grass was there in abundance; so were the plants or trees of Śyāmaka, Alambuṣā, Kokilākṣa. Farmers were in the process of 'apportioning parcels of rice land, threshing ground and tilth.' A 'decoction of *madhūka* fruits' was abundantly available. And a supply of *rājamāṣa*, cucumber, *karkaṭikā*, ground seeds, *male* rice, water lily roots, candied sugar, white lotus seeds, bamboo and threshed rice was there in plenty. Of these trees, plants and fruits, the Ayurvedic Materia Medica (http://ayurveda-florida.com/Ayurvedic_Materia_Medica_Articles/Table2.htm) identifies *Alambuṣā* as as *Neptunia oleracea*, or water mimosa, a plant grown in wet soil around water bodies and still used as a vegetable in SE Asia. The same source identifies Kokilākṣa as the long-leaved barleria *Asteracantha longifiolia / Hygrophila longifolia*, (*kantakalia*) another marshland plant with medicinal properties. Cf. Warrier et al. (1993): 19. *Madhūka* is *Madhuca longifolia*, the Indian Butter Tree (Hindi: Mahua, *ibid.*, p. 362). *Rājamāṣa* is Riddhi, a tuberous herb that is not currently found growing below 2500 m. Its botanical name is *Habenaria edgeworthii.* (*ibid.*, p. 110). *Karkaṭikā* is sweet melon. The *Harṣacarita* (Parab: 227) refers to 'hard black soil' (*kṛṣṇa-mṛttika-kaṭhinaiḥ*) and in these details there is some contradiction in the description of hard-packed soil and marshland plants—maybe these were grown at separate sites.

[126] Cedi and Kāruṣa regions in the Vindhyas (besides Daśārṇa and Aparānta) were known for their elephants, cf., *Arthaśāstra*, II.2.15. For further information on distribution of elephants across

There is little information about social formations in the *āṭavikas*' settlements in these details. The Ganga valley social stratification remained in abeyance in Gopācala until at least the early middle ages. That *varṇa* and *jāti* were in flux as late as the ninth century in the region is clear from the instances of a *Brāhmaṇa* of a doubtful *gotra*,[128] of a *kṣatriya* named Memmaka identified as a tiller,[129] and of Vaiśyas as rulers. Yuan Chwang (seventh century) ascribed *vaiśya* rulership to the Po-Li-Ye-To-Lo country (Pāriyātra region)[130] which apparently bordered on the western and northern parts of Madhya Pradesh. A settlement of *Brāhmaṇas* with a grant is in evidence for the first time in connection with a *brahmapurī* attached to Padmanātha (Sas Bahu) temple at Gwalior in 1092 CE.[131] A ninth century inscription from Gwalior refers to the *kṣatriya* Memmaka, son of Devavarman, not as a warrior but as as a cultivator who tended his irrigated land in Jaipuraka locality of ancient Gwalior. Before that, the Mahua inscription refers to Vatsarāja as combining the 'effulgence of *brahma* and *kṣatra* in his person (with the two) equally divided by his *yajñopavīta*'. Taken literally, this may mean neither a full *brāhmaṇa*-hood nor full *kṣatriya*-hood, for his legitimacy rested in his *khaḍga* and in his being a *bhūpati* (landowner).[132] Others like *ṭhakkura*, *mahattara*, *rājā*, *rāut* (same

---

the woods of central India and beyond, see Habib, I. (2010): 62; 93-94; Also see Habib and Habib (2012): Map 9: Economic Geography, AD 1-300 and Map 12; Economic Map of India AD 500-800, for elephants in the central and upper parts of the Indian sub-continent.

[127] *Ibid.*, 161. *Mahābhārata*, Vanaparva, 64.39; 65.1ff. The caravan chief assured Damayantī that he reaped much 'profit' from his sales and transactions in the territory outside the forest tracts (of Gopādri region), *Mahābhārata*, Vanaparva., 64.130,132. For the profits in trade, he was thankful to Maṇibhadra, a Yaksha who was supposed to protect traders' caravans through forests. Padmāvatī had a 'guild of Maṇibhadra devotees', information for which has come from an image inscription. Cf. Dwivedi, (VS 2004), 84, no. 625.

[128] Sircar, D.C. (1987 rep.) "Two Pratihāra Grants from Kuretha", *E.I.* 30, pp.149-150. The grant is dated in 1220 CE. Sircar says that the *vasala gotra* and *bheraṇḍa anvaya* of the Brāhmaṇa are not listed in the authentic works on the subject. In other instances, some of them built a temple at Tumain (Guna district) during the Guptas, Mihirakula's inscription from Gwalior refers to *dvijas* and at Sesai (Willis 1996: 119), a Brāhmaṇa mother is mentioned for immolating herself at the death of her sons. Such sporadic references to Brāhmaṇas in the region, devoid of land grant, raise doubt about their regular presence in the region.

[129] *E.I.*, 1, p. 159, line 8: *kṣatriya Devavarmma suta Memmāka vāhita kṣetram.*

[130] Cf. Beal (1969): 179. Yuan Chwang's description of Pāriyātra country gives a different picture about the neighbourhood of northern M.P. He says: "Grain is abundant here and late wheat... The climate is warm and fiery; the people are resolute and fierce. They are not given to learning and are given to honour heretics. The king is of the *vaiśya* caste; he is of a brave and impetuous nature and very warlike". Beal (1969): 179

[131] Trivedi, H.V. (1989): 543-548, vv. 26-30, 75-83, 71; the v. 71 refers to a *brahmapurī* attached to the temple. See also, Misra (1987 a): 172, 181, fn. 14.

[132] Cf. *E.I*, vol. 37, p. 55, vv. 3-4.

as *rājaputra*), *rāṇaka*—which are natural, assumed or conferred titles—are found in plenty in the inscriptions after the ninth century from the region. In comparison, the presence of *bhaṭas* (warriors) in the region seems conspicuous. We have *bhaṭas* serving as feudatories of the Gurjara-Pratihāras besides the other *bhaṭas* who died fighting elsewhere. An instance of such a battle on the banks of river Valuā at Bangla is recorded in hero stones from the vicinity of Bangla in Shivpuri district.[133]

In these instances, one notices the absence of a strong overlord in the regional polity and also the assertion of primacy by *bhaṭas*. Instances of the woodland warriors turning into feudal chiefs are found in the *Harṣacarita*: it refers to Śarabha chieftains (*aṭavīpālas*) protecting the settlements of their community (*pallīparivṛdha*).[134] They seem to have remained fierce, belligerent, rebellious and mercenary, earning a new sobriquet *bhaṭa*. The term seems generically applied to Gobhaṭa, Undabhaṭa, Dhūrbhaṭa, (Vāyillabhaṭṭa and Allabhaṭṭa!),[135] who rose to the level of feudal chiefs under the Gurjara-Pratihāras.[136] Their brethren in the hinterland, the other *āṭavika-bhaṭas* (warriors in forest), were not necessarily given to agricultural pursuits as the forests provided them subsistence and traders' caravans passing through their territory occasionally afforded them other commodities by plunder. They carried out cattle raids[137] in which lives were lost. The movement through the wooded territory mattered for the traders and their caravans, but they must have found themselves vulnerable to these *bhaṭas* and their brethren who controlled the hinterland. Only a compromise could have enabled traders to ply their trades, travellers reach their desired destination or rulers extend their sovereignty over the woodlands.[138] Trade appears to have been brisk through the routes in the region.[139] However, the travails of the forest land are in evidence time and again;

---

[133] Cf. Trivedi, H.V. (1989): 580, incr. no. 163, lines 7-8: *yuyudhe turagārūḍho nihatya subhaṭān bahūn.*

[134] Agrawala, Vasudeva Sharan (1966): 131. Agrawala explains *aṭavīpāla* as the chiefs of the *āṭavika* community.

[135] Of these warriors, Allabhaṭṭa belonged to *Varjara* (*Banjara?* A nomadic tribe) *anvaya* (*E.I.*, 1, p. 156, v. 2). His vocation as a warrior seems confirmed by his position as a *koṭṭapāla* and a 'warden of boundaries' at Gwalior in 876 CE (*Ibid.*, p. 156, line 2). Forts are mentioned in the cases of both Gwalior and Terahi (for the latter, cf. *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, p. 202). It would thus appear that the *bhaṭas* came to be appointed as feudal chiefs and they worked from fort to fort regardless of the otherwise volatile hinterland.

[136] Cf. Misra, R.N. (1999): 60-66.

[137] For instance, an inscription from Devakani (Guna District) refers to Sahajanadeva in connection with some quarrel about cattle. His two wives committed *satī* on his death. The episode took place in VS 1387 during the time of Muhammad Tughlag. Cf. Willis (1966): 23. For another warrior, cf. Willis (1996): 7, inscription dated in VS 1177.

[138] Harirāja, the Later Pratihāra ruler, contacted the Kadwaha *ācārya* through a messenger. *E.I.* 37, p. 124. So did Lakṣmaṇarāja in the case of Hṛdayaśiva, a distinguished ascetic of Madhumatī branch, who was approached through 'well-conducted messengers.' Mirashi (1955): 221, vv. 56-59.

[139] For Gwalior emerging as a commercial hub in the ninth century, cf. Chattopadhyaya (2012): 142-148.

for instance, in the time of the Kacchapaghāta ruler Kīrtirāja (1015-35), when even villagers plundered the lances (*kunta*) of the retreating Mālava army and fastened them on to the roofs of their dwellings.[140] It happened again in the time of Kīrti Singh Tomar (1459-80) of Gwalior when Sultan Hussain Shah Sharqui's army in retreat was plundered relentlessly.[141] The menace of robbers was real and rulers tried hard to subdue them, with little success.[142] The nature of land of northern Madhya Pradesh, divided as it was largely into deep forests and desiccated ravines (*kaccha*), provided an ideal habitat for the tribes or people, *āṭavika* in character.

As for the polity in Gopācala, it reflects the inconsequential presence of the Niṣadhas, the Mauryas, the pre-Gupta Śivanandin, the Nāgas (of Padmāvatī) and a temporary subjugation of *āṭavikas* by Samudragupta (fourth century CE). The *āṭavikas* eventually rose up to constitute a confederation of 'eighteen forest kingdoms' in Ḍāhala region during the time of the Parivrājaka Mahārājas (early sixth century).[143] The indifferent political profile of Gopācala is apparent even during Vatsarāja (7th century), and his predecessors of the Madhuvana/Mahuar region (of Mahua) who figure only as *bhūpati*, *narapati* or *rājā*, the titles bereft of grandiloquent royal flourish.[144]

The first regional potentates, the Kacchapaghātas as feudatories of the Candellas, came to power apparently after exterminating the Kacchapas, as is implicitly suggested by their very name, i.e. 'exterminators of the *kacchapas*'.[145] Political power in the region seems to have been weak in these situations and hinterland with its vast stretches was apparently independent of political control. It would appear that situations could not be altered in the hinterland without accord with its irrepressible *āṭavikas*. The Gurjara-Pratihāras, who preceded the Candellas, must have realised this when they endeavoured to draft *bhaṭas* as their feudal chieftains to control the hinterland.

The *āṭavika bhaṭas* are found as feudal chiefs under the Gurjara Pratihāras who ruled from *c.* 756 to *c.* 947 CE.[146] Thus Undabhaṭa figures as their *mahāsāmantādhipati* at Terahi (VS 960/903 CE) and Siyadoni (VS 964) in the Jhansi-Lalitpur region. Dhūrbhaṭa too, the other *bhaṭa*, figures as *mahārājādhirāja* (VS 969/912-13 CE) at Siyadoni (Sironj Khurd near

---

[140] Trivedi, H.V. (1989): 542, v. 10.

[141] The army of a Sharqui Sultan was plundered but support for its escape was later provided by the Tomar chief Kīrtirāja. Cf. Mishra, B.D. (1993): 140, 42.

[142] Trivedi, H.V. (1989): 543, v. 20.

[143] *Infra*, p. 35.

[144] *E.I.*, 37, p. 55. For a brief description of the minor ruling lines in Gopācala region, see *infra*, pp. 33-34.

[145] Trivedi, H.V. (1989): 542, vv. 5-7, which describes Lakṣmaṇa, the first ruler of the Kacchapaghāta *vaṃśa* and his coming to power by force: *haṭhāt utpātya pṛthvībhṛtaḥ*. In the Dubkund inscription (*ibid.*, p.532, v. 7), Yuvarāja is *Kacchapaghāta-vaṃśa-tilaka*. The Kacchapas probably represented a tribe.

[146] Cf., Trivedi, R.D. (1990):6-13.

Lalitpur),[147] proclaiming that title even as his overlord held sway from Kānyakubja.[148] A third *mahāsamantādhipati* (VS 960/903-04 CE) is also mentioned in the Siyadoni inscription.[149] Later, under the Yājvapālas too, there is a reference to a *lubdhaka* in a Surwaya record. He could possibly be an *āṭavika* hunter who, installed as *rāṇaka*, had managed to acquire a feudal status.[150]

In an environment of disarray of every other socio-economic and political institution, religion remained ascendant all through the history of the Gopādri region. In legends or in historical sources, the *tīrtha-ic* (sacred place) associations of Gopācala are not in doubt. A reference to the hermitages of ascetics in the region has already been made above. Similarly, the founding of Gwalior and its fortification is ascribed to a legendary ruler, Surajsen, in Khadga Rai's bardic accounts. He says that Surajsen began fortification (on the hills of Gwalior) at the bidding of the sage Gwālipā, who had cured him of leprosy.[151] Religious activity is next noticed in Tumain (Guna Dist.), which has yielded an inscription of the Gupta era 116 (435 CE) recording construction of a temple there by five brothers.[152] Later we find Mātṛceṭa (c. 525 CE), a commander of Hūṇa Mihirakula, building a Sun temple on the Gopa hill.[153] The set of Bhāgavat images (second century CE) in the Archaeological Survey of India Museum at Gwalior fort confirms the penetration of the Bhāgavat cult in the region for which evidence had been available from Pawaya in the form of the *dhvaja* pillars of the Vṛṣṇi heroes. Ultimately, Śaivism, specially its Siddhānta sect, seems to have emerged strongly in the region.

Modifications seem to have been introduced in the status of *āṭavika*s with the advent of the Gurjara Pratihāras in the region. These modifications prompted developments in at least three distinct ways, namely: (1) emergence of *bhaṭas* as feudal chieftains of the Gurjara Pratihāras; (2) institutionalization of Siddhānta asceticism within monasteries of the Śaiva Siddhānta Order, between the 8thand 9th centuries;[154] and (3) primacy of traders in the town administration.[155] This promoted a new order in which traders came to depend on monasteries and their ascetics[156] as the latter came to acquire power and authority in concert with or in opposition to the potentates.[157] Between the 7th and 9th centuries, the *muni*s seem to have substantially secured the Vindhyan *vana*s, exercising their writ over the local chieftains and other potentates who are seen offering obeisance to them in various ways. This also was the time when the *āṭavika* warriors (*bhaṭa*s) operating conterminously with the *muni*s in the same territory rose to power competing with local chiefs.[158]

---

[147] Keilhorn, F. (1971 rep.) "Siyadoni Stone inscription", *E.I.* 1, p. 173 (Undabhaṭa) and p. 175 (Dhūrbhaṭa). The title of *mahārājadhirāja* for Dhūrbhaṭa is suggestive of his irrepressibility, regardless of his Gurjara Pratihāra overlord. For Undabhaṭa in a Terahi inscription of 903 CE, cf., Keilhorn (1988 rep.) *Indian Antiquary*, Vol XVII, pp. 201-02. Later, Dhūrbhata is recalled respectfully as an ancestor by Harirāja in a Kadwaha epigraph, cf., *E.I.* 37, v. 26. Allabhaṭṭa and Vāyillabhaṭṭa figure in Gwalior.

[148] Cf. *E.I.*,1, pp. 167,169

[149] *Ibid.*, p. 169. Later, the *nṛpa cakravartī* Harirāja, who descended from this line, mentions his father *mahārājādhirāja* Niṣkalaṅka as *bhūpādhipa* Nīlakaṇṭha. Cf. *E.I.*, 31, pp.309-313, v.1.

[150] *E.I.* 32, p. 340. Sircar considered him to be of the agriculturist Lodha community even as he conceded that in Sanskrit lexicon the term *lubdhaka* means a 'hunter'. *Ibid.*

[151] Dwivedi, ed. (1980): 58: *ehi parbat nīvahi dharau/apanai mahal yahī than karau*, i.e. 'I should establish the foundation (of a fort) on this hill and build palace here at this spot' (at Gwalior).

[152] Garde (1952): 115-18.

[153] *Girimurdhni tiṣṭhati śilā prāsādamukhyo rame*, Fleet (1963): 163.

[154] Misra, R. N. (1993): 116.

It seems that the different emergent power groups were literally parcelling out the Gopācala territory among themselves, whereby forest tracts with their *āṭavika* inhabitants went to the ascetics and their monasteries; towns to traders and forts in the hinterland and elsewhere to *bhaṭas* and *koṭṭapālas.*[159] Traders gained both in urban centres and the hinterland in plying their trade unhindered. In these modifications one may read a gradual transformation of the erstwhile warrior *bhaṭas* to the level of local chiefs with titles like *mahattaras*, *bhūpa*, *mahāsamantādhipati* and *mahārājādhirāja.*[160] Ultimately, one of the descendants ended up as *nṛpacakravartin.*[161] The *ācārya*s and their monasteries seem to have offered support to traders, which included safe halting stations and ease of passage and perhaps even loans.[162] They might even have adjudicated in the power struggle between the local chieftains and the feudatories of the Gurjara-Pratihāras.[163] New power equations seem to have been emerging

---

155. *E.I.*, 1, pp. 159-60. Also, Chattopadhyaya, Brajadulal (rep. 2012): 142-149. In these developments the role of the Gurjara-Pratihāras is apparent only in the first one, namely in *bhaṭa*s being drafted as feudal chiefs.
156. The Bilhari Stone inscription and that from Siyadoni indicate such interconnections. Compare inscriptions in Mirashi (1955), no. 45 and Kielhorn, E.I. 1, pp. 163-179.
157. *Infra*, pp. 67 ff.
158. Of the contemporary local potentates in Gopācala, Caulukya Avantivarmā (9th century) of Ranod stone inscription is a *bhūpa*, *E.I*, 1.v.13; Vatsarāja and his ancestors (7th century) at Mahua are *rājā*, *narapati*, *bhūpati*, *E.I.*, 37, vv. 2-4). But the warrior (*bhaṭa*) feudal chief Dhūrbhaṭa claimed the status of *mahārājadhirāja*.
159. Dwivedi, Harihar Nivas (VS 2004), insc. nos. 9 & 13 respectively, for the cases from Gwalior and Terahi.
160. *E.I.*, 37, p. 55, where the Mahua inscription refers to *bhūpati*, *narapati*; Siyadoni inscription, *E.I.* 1, p.169 has a *mahāsāmantādhipati* (name lost); it has Dhūrbhaṭa as *mahārājādhirāja* (*E.I.* 1, p. 169) who was *mahīśvara* in *E.I.*, 37, v. 26; Niṣkalaṅka is *mahārājādhirāja* in Siyadoni inscription (*E.I.* 1. p.177) and *bhūpādhipa* in a Later Pratihara inscription (*E.I.* 31, v.1). As noted above, Undabhaṭa was a *mahāsāmantādhipati*. Cf. *Indian Antiquary*, 17, pp. 201-202; Dwivedi, VS 2004, no. 13.
161. *E.I.*, 37, p. 124, v. 22.
162. For interest-free loans by ascetics, see: p. 63. Such a concession must have benefitted traders even as it indicates the *maṭha*'s state of prosperity.
163. *Indian Antiquary*, 17, pp. 201-202. The ascetics of the local *maṭha* at Terahi do not figure in this inscription but they were occupying the hinterland since *c.* 675 CE, starting from Kadwaha. Therefore, it is not unlikely that the *maṭha*, its ascetics and Undabhaṭa, the feudal chief, operated

in these developments whereby the *ācāryas*, the chiefs of ascetics, managed to become supreme.

The ascendancy of Śaivism had started in the region with the Nāgas. By the seventh century it had supplanted all other religions so much that Gwalior came to be known as Maheśvarapura to Yuan Chwang.[164] Subsequently, except for the two Viṣṇu temples built respectively by Vāyillabhaṭṭasvāmin and Mihirabhoja, a Jain temple built by Āmarāja (?) and a Vaiṣṇava temple built by Kacchapaghāta ruler Mahīpāla, other monuments on the Gwalior hills were dedicated to Śiva[165] or to the deities of the Śaivite pantheon, specially the Navadurgās.[166] Mahua (Dist. Shivpuri) had a Śiva-Dhūrjaṭī temple in the seventh century.[167] Similar Śaivite affiliation is seen in scores of other temple in the area, including those at Naresar, Batesar, Mahua, and Amrol – all in the Gopācala region.[168] It thus appears that rise of Śaivism that began during the rule of the Nāgas (second to early fourth century) did not abate until medieval times. Of the various known Śaivite sects, only three, namely Pāśupata, Kāpālika and Siddhāntika, had a presence in the Gopādri region. However, the Siddhāntikas alone acquired prominence, thanks largely to its well-endowed ascetics who spearheaded their movement vigorously.

Gopācala thus seems divided between few cities (e.g., Gwālikera, Nalapura, Dubkund/Dobha[169] and Padmāvatī) and the vast expanse of hinterland. In this division, control over the towns fell to traders. Two inscriptions from Gwalior[170] (875 and 876 CE) offer a typical profile of a growing town and its ascendant traders in Gopācala in the ninth century. According to the inscriptions, Gwalior (anc. Gwālikera),[171] the chief town of the region had a cluster

---

at Terahi almost contemporaneously without confrontation. In drafting hinterland warriors (*bhaṭas*) as their feudal chiefs the Gurjara Pratihāras were safeguarding their position in the *āṭavika* hinterland. The battle at Terahi in VS 960 saw the end of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas with the demise of Caṇḍiyāna, a *koṭṭapāla* of Guṇarāja at Terahi. As for the presence of the Gurjara Pratihāras in Gopācala hinterland, that seems minimal considering the paucity of their inscriptions in this region. This is evident from the distribution pattern of inscriptions of the Gurjara Pratihāras and their feudatories in this region. Cf. Willis (1996: 107).

[164] Bhattacharya, Pranab Kumar (1977): 136, 262.

[165] For a Śiva temple built at Gwalior in 1104 CE, see Trivedi, H.V. (1989): 551-552.

[166] Hultzsch, *E.I.* 1, p.160; Misra, R.N. (1987a): 221. Dwivedi, Harihar Nivas (VS 2004): 83, inscription no. 618. Dwivedi refers to Garde for a reference to Viśākha temple at Gwalior. Hultzsch does not mention it. For the Navadurgā temple, See Ch. 5, p. 159, fn. 8; p. 184, fn. 60.

[167] *E.I.* 37, p. 55. Mahua witnessed yet another Śiva temple coming up at the site soon after.

[168] Trivedi, R.D. (1990): 47-69, 79-84, 67-69, 70-75.

[169] A town (*pura*) called Dobha and its traders are mentioned in the Dubkund stone inscription (VS 1145) of the time of Vikramasiṃha who belonged to the Dubkund line of Kacchapaghāta. Trivedi, H.V. (1989): VII/3: 528-534.

[170] *E.I.*, 1, pp. 159-160, 155-156.

[171] Trivedi, H.V. (1985): VII/3: 551, v.5.

of settlements around the fort. These consisted of trading localities like Carcikā-Haṭṭikā, Nimbāditya-Haṭṭikā, besides Śrī Sarveśvarapura and Śrīvatsa-svāmīpura, representing the settlements of oil traders (*tailikas*). Two other settlements namely, Vyāghrakeṇḍikā and Jayapurāka were peasant villages. The locality named Cūḍāpallikā and the hills of Gwalior were the habitat of gardeners. The fort was in the hands of a "warden of boundaries" (*maryādā dhurya*) and *koṭṭapāla*, i.e. Vāyillabhaṭṭa and his son and successor Alla. These two served Ramabhadra (833-836 CE) and Mihirabhoja (836-886 CE), the Gurjara-Pratihāra rulers of Kanauj. Inscriptions suggest that the town was administered by a board (*vāra*)[172] and had a *sthānādhikṛta*[173] along with *śreṣṭhī*, *sārthavāha-pramukha*, a guild of oil merchants (*tailika śreṇī*), *tailika-mahattaka* and *mālika-mahattaka*, the chiefs of the guilds of oil merchants and gardeners, besides others. As against this, the hinterland had a clutch of monasteries in the wilderness populated by the descendants of Śabara, Pulinda, Nara, Seka, Aparaseka, Kacchapa, and Bhadakanas, mentioned earlier.

In such a scenario, the *maṭhas* provided shelter to visitors and safety to traders and perhaps even quartered them in times of need. The ascetics as *sthānapatis* did not fail in asserting their role as protectors of their people, through acts that apparently exhibited their power. Their bonding with *āṭavikas* is hinted in a record from Narwar of a *vanavīra*, 'valiant of the forest' (VS 1524) who had *jogī* Makaradhvaja as his preceptor.[174] This valiant of the wilderness was a *rout* (*rājaputra*), a potentate-in-making even as his bond with the ascetic continued. Siddhānta-specific references to the implicit alliance between a *muni* and woodland dwellers are not missing either. The Ranod inscription (v.23) bears this out when it says that the *ācārya* Vyomaśiva (of the woodland monastery in ancient Araṇipadra) acted as the 'liberator of the *prajā* (people) in times of distress;' and that in glory 'he vied with the ruler's power and pelf' (v.38). No specific event is mentioned in connection with this claim; nonetheless it shows the mantle of power which the *ācāryas* had arrogated to themselves.

The Siddhānta monastic movement grew up in Gopācala, its cradle, spearheaded by its ascetics. The austere life of its ascetics, given to extreme penance and reclusive ways, is not in doubt, nor is so their extraordinary erudition. Inscriptions offer sufficient material on ascetic practices of the Siddhānta *munis*. But these alone would not translate either into their empowerment or proliferation of their *maṭhas*. The rise of the ascetics seems linked to their lineages, diaspora, the network of their *maṭhas* and their well-organized monastic system even as political, social and other institutions, including the ruling potentates and imperial powers remained minimally active in the woodlands. The ascetics' rise was rooted in the hinterland (*tapovanas*) rather than in towns, and the *tapovanas* reflect only the rudiments of political and socio-economic formations in their early, indifferent modes.

---

[172] *E.I.* 1, p. 159, line 3.

[173] Compare this with the title *sthānapati*, which describes the ascetic Gaganaśiva in the Karhad Plates of Kṛṣṇa III, dated 959 CE, and others like Śankhamathikādhipati etc., who figure in the genealogy of the Mattamayūra ascetics.

[174] Cf, Willis (1996):34.

It may therefore be reasonably assumed that the ascetics gained widespread acceptance possibly as a result of their role as mediators between the dwellers of woodlands and towns, between the *āṭavikas* and the traders, in other words. This would have substantially promoted trade in early medieval times in the region. Siyadoni[175](now known as Siron Khurd) in Jhansi-Shivpuri tract, Gopagiri (Gwalior) complex in Gopācala and Bilhari in Ḍāhala did develop into market towns.[176] Of these cities, Bilhari contained a flourishing Saiddhāntika *maṭha*. With the passage of time the *maṭhas*, in all likelihood, started employing cultivators to till their extensive land holdings and artisans to build temples, *maṭhas* and other works.[177] To the woodland community they offered succour perhaps by protecting them from rulers' invasive designs, providing sustenance and offering health care.[178] Having thus gained acceptance of the *āṭavika* communities, the *munis*, no wonder, were actively sought after by rulers for political and economic benefits. A later inscription does give credit to a Śaiva *ācārya* for having brought virgin areas into the revenue net of the ruler[179] even as other inscriptions from Ḍāhala describe their involvement with administration.

The presence of ascetics (besides *āṭavikas*) in the woodlands is quite apparent in the texts quoted above. It may not be far-fetched to suggest that the journey of the ascetics of the Śaiva Siddhānta School to prominence from the seventh century onwards, began in these situations. The *munis* initially selected a space for their meditations and penance and then emphasised its exclusivity by cordoning it off with monastic establishments, which the *āṭavikas* did not resist. This was apparently aided by the lack of a strong political organization in the region, for royal authority and feudal structure seem to have had minimal presence in the Vindhyan forests until the Middle Ages. These monastic establishments later appear to have felt the need of additional security, so that architectural elements indicative of fortification began to develop.

---

[175] Cf. *E.I.*, 1, pp. 167-68; 172.

[176] Chattopadhyaya (2012): 142-48; 176-180. It needs being stressed that both Siyadoni and Bilhari were temple towns. Bilhari in particular had a Siddhānta *maṭha* (Nohaleśvara) which managed the trade and festivals and the material proceeds of such enterprises went to it. Siyadoni fell under Undabhaṭa who operated at Terahi too, a site of another Siddhānta *maṭha*. The role of Siddhānta ascetics and their *maṭhas* in promoting trade may not therefore be doubted. For Bilhari as a commercial centre, see also Misra, R.N. (1987b): 24.

[177] Misra, R.N. (1987b): 25-26.

[178] The Chandrehe inscription confirms Prabodhaśiva's knowledge of medicinal plants, which grew around his *maṭha*. People are said to have wondered at his proficiency in that regard. Cf., Mirashi (1955): 201, v. 14.

[179] *Infra*, p. 71, fn. 204.

As of today, the *maṭhas* stand as fortified constructions at Ranod, Kadwaha and Surwaya. Entrenched in these palatial *maṭha* complexes the *munis* seem relegating political institutions to a subservient status. Having gained the confidence and allegience of the *āṭavika* communities, the *munis* as *sthānapatis* with the *maṭhas* under their control could receive both rulers and traders as their supplicants and 'clients' or perform the role of their protectors and patrons. That concisely defines the setting of the *munis* and *maṭhas*, which cradled the Siddhānta movement and heralded its upsurge in the Gopācala region. Situations do not seem to have been any different in the Ḍāhala region. The ascetic movement was transplanted to Ḍāhala in the tenth century and continued to flourish there vigorously till the thirteenth. The next section briefly describes this, underscoring the features common to the two regions which possibly aided in the spread of the Siddhānta movement.

MARGINALISED STATE OF POLITY IN GOPĀCALA AND ḌĀHALA

The Vindhyan profile with its *āṭavikas*[180] and *aṭavīs* is common to northern, eastern and central India; so are their intractability and the absence of imperial powers. The Kalacuris too are seen acquiescing to their authority. Everywhere in the regions thus, the polity shows the signs of being subservient to the *muni* factor, which, in its stride, managed to control the woodland, its tribes, trade and commerce and even polity. In Gopācala no less than eight ruling dynasties held sway, including the Gurjara Pratihāras (c. 756 to c. 947)[181] and seven other ephemeral lines of independent or feudal chieftains besides the Valkhas of tribal moorings.[182] These seven other dynasties included Vatsarāja and his ancestors of Madhumatī (7th century);[183] the Caulukya-Śulkis of Malwa (8th to 10th century);[184] the Kacchapaghātas of Dubkund, Gwalior and Narwar (c. 950-1125);[185] the Yājvapālas of Narwar (1227-1300)[186] and the Later Pratihāras (9th to 13th century) in the Jhansi-Shivpuri-Chanderi region.[187] Still other minor potentates with *pāla* ending names and a chieftain (*rāvala*) Vāmadeva (VS 1245, 1249) are known from Naresar.[188] This diversity of rulership within a limited geographical area supports the rise of *munis* in the wake of disorganized polity in the hinterland.

---

[180] These were constituted of the Śabaras and Pulindas in Ḍāhala according to the *Harṣacarita* and Purāṇas. For the tribes in the Vindhya region, cf, Agrawal (1987): 220-236.

[181] Trivedi (1990): 6-13.

[182] Cf, Ramesh, K.V. and S.P. Tiwari (1990): vii-viii.

[183] *E.I.*, 37, pp. 53-55.

[184] *E.I.* 37, pp. 119-120.

[185] Trivedi, H. V. (1991): 237-238.

[186] *Ibid.*

[187] This line seems to have continued with Undabhaṭa of Terahi (903 CE/VS 960) and Siyadoni (906 CE/VS 964) through Dhūrbhaṭa, (912-13 CE) Nīlakaṇṭha/Niṣkalaṅka (951-52 and 968-69 CE), Harirāja (Siyadoni: VS 1040/984 CE; Thubon: VS 1055/999-1000 CE) down to Raṇapāladeva (1064-65 CE) and eight other rulers after him known from Kadwaha, Chanderi and Thubon inscriptions. The line seems to have ended by the thirteenth century. Cf. *E.I.* 37, 309-13; 40, 105-108. Singh, A.K. (2007) *Studies in Indian Epigraphy*, Vol. 38, pp.169-176 reproduces the names of Later Pratihāras from a Kadwaha record. He also quotes Usha Jain's 1980 paper on a record of VS 1122 from Pacharai,

The situation in eastern Madhya Pradesh in the Baghelkhand region, Ḍāhala, in other words, seems no different. Bharhut (second century BCE) has provided the names of Vātsīputra Dhanabhūti, his son Vādhapāla and their ancestors Gauptīputra Agaraju and Gārgīputra Viśvadeva[189] besides some minor chieftains from neighbouring regions who supported the stonework.[190] The Maghas and others (second century CE) with their linkages with Kauśāmbī are the other minor rulers reported from Bandhogarh and Ginja Hills.[191] The Bandhogarh inscriptions refer to traders who commissioned some constructions there. One of these inscriptions confirms the presence here of Śaivism; but the information is rudimentary. In sum, eastern Malwa (Daśārṇa), Gopācala[192] (northerm Madhya Pradesh), Ḍāhala (eastern and central parts of Madhya Pradesh including Bundelkhand and Baghelakhand) and the tracts of the ancient *mahākāntāra*[193] had a similar political profile characterised by local rulers of minor significance and absence of imperial might while the *āṭavikas* figure populating the hinterland ubiquitously. Imperial dynasties from the north made sporadic forays in the region, as was the case with Aśoka Maurya proclaiming his Minor Rock Edict at Gujarra (in Datia District);[194] or Samudragupta subjugating the Nāga rulers of Padmāvatī and forcing the *āṭavikas* into 'servility'; or Harṣa leading an expedition into the region to rescue his sister

---

mentioning Harirāja, Bhīma and Raṇapāla. For a list of these rulers, see also Willis (1996): 106, 112.

[188] Singh, A. K. (2010-12): 309-323). The minor rulers figuring in inscriptions are Haripāla (VS 1145), Ajayapāla (VS 1249) and Vāstupāla (VS 1316).

[189] Misra, Ramanath (1971) *Bharhut* (Bhopal: Hindi Grantha Akadami), intro, p. 19. For similar metronymics in Gopācala, see *supra*, p. 22, fn. 105.

[190] Misra, Ramanath (1971) *Bharhut*, pp. 18-20.

[191] Cf., *E.I.* 31, pp.167-186, for the Maghas. Chakravarti describes twenty inscriptions from Bandhogarh, its rulers, and traders and, in one case, he refers to Śaivite connections of the site.

[192] The term is used in a Yājvapāla inscription of Gaṇapati, cf, *E.I.*, 32, p. 346, v. 10

[193] *Mahākāntāra* lay in the *Vindhyapṛṣṭha* region, away in the Upper Narmada Valley. The Prayag *praśasti* of Samudragupta's exploits refers to a *mahākāntāra* ruler Vyāghrarāja who was vanquished by Samudragupta. A Nachna inscription refers to a Vyāghra as a feudatory of Vākāṭaka Pṛthviṣeṇa. The two Vyāghras may be the same according to Raychaudhuri (1955): 543. The forested profile of the area is clearly borne out in the reference to *mahākāntāra* (great forest).

[194] *E.I.*, 31, pp. 205-210. A Minor Rock Edict of Aśoka is known from Rupnath too. Cf, Jain, Balchandra (2005): 158. Apart from the sporadic presence of Aśoka, the Maurya and of Śivanandin (of Pawaya), besides the Guptas in the Tumbavana (Tumain, Shivpuri distt), the first political dynasty to emerge in the Gopācala region is that of the Nāgas. They, in turn were exterminated by Samudragupta. But the Gupta rule in the core of Gopācala is not as firmly explicit as it is in Malwa where Valkhas, with their tribal moorings, appear as an early ruling house. Cf., Ramesh, K.V. and S.P. Tiwari (1990).

without any attempt to subjugate the woodland communities.[195] These attempts of imperial powers were apparently not of much consequence for, the *āṭavikas* were not totally trounced by Aśoka and continued to have a quasi-independent status during his time.[196] Even as Samudragupta 'reduced the *āṭavikas* to servility' (*paricārikīkṛtasarvāṭavikarājasya*) they eventually cobbled up a confederacy of 'eighteen chiefdoms' in Ḍāhala by the time of Hastin (510-11 CE). The Vākāṭakas of the Vidarbha region may have had an ephemeral presence here before Hastin through their chieftain Vyāghradeva of Ucchakalpa (modern Unchahra, Satna District).[197] But the presence of *āṭavikas* in the region is indicated by the Purāṇas that mention them (*āṭavyas*) with Pulindas, Vindhyamūlīyas and Vaidarbhas.[198] Hastin's Navagrama Grant of 517 CE, too refers to *Pulinda-rāja-rāṣṭra* in the territory of Parivrājaka Mahārājas.[199] These references point to *āṭavya's* autochthonous character and their well entrenched locus in the forested, mountainous habitat. That precisely was the locus of the *tapovanas* (penance forests) of Siddhānta *munis*.

Inscriptions from Khoh,[200] Bhumra (Panna region), Majhagawan (near Jabalpur), Jabalpur and Betul (518-19 CE), in the ancient Ḍāhala refer to Parivrājaka Mahārājas Hastin, Samkṣobha and their three predecessors who held sway in 'Ḍabhālā' from 475-476 to 528-29 CE.[201] The dates in these inscriptions are reckoned from the year 156 to 209 in the Gupta Era of 319 CE. The Ucchakalpa rulers (GE 174 to 214/493-94 to 533-34? CE) were their contemporaries. They all, probably along with the Kāka, Kharparika and Sanakānikas of Prayag *praśasti* may have composed those eighteen *āṭavika rājyas*, 'forest kingdoms' and *mahārāja* Hastin seems to have held them together under his rule. The land grants mentioned in the plates however indicate that brahmanisation had started in the region under the local chieftains of insubstantial political strength who still defined their territorial limits by boundary pillars and supplicated to the local tutelary deity Piṣṭapurikā.

---

[195] A copper plate grant of Hastin, describes Ḍabhālā (Ḍāhala) as well as Eighteen Forest Kingdoms (*aṭavī rājya*) in the Vindhyan region. Cf., *E.I.* 8, 284-90 (Saṃkṣobha's Betul Plates); Fleet (1963):112-116. Before Harṣa, the Parivrājaka Mahārājas Hastin, Saṃkṣobha and their predecessors ruled over this Ḍabhālā region from 475-476 to 528-29 CE. Cf. Fleet, J. F. (1963 rep): 114, line 8: Mahāraja Saṃkṣobha's Khoh Copper Plate inscription of the year 209. The Guptas' suzerainty in Tripurī under the Parivrājakas is acknowledged in the 518-19. Cf., Sharma, R.K. (1974):179, no. 689.

[196] Bhandarkar (1955): 292; 41-42. In his Rock Edict XIII, Aśoka threateningly exhorts the *āṭavikas* that though he repents (destruction in the Kalinga operation), yet 'they might express a sense of shame and not be killed'. Bhandarkar, D.R. (1955): 202. Bhandarkar avers that "the *āṭavyas* were not altogether subordinate to Aśoka but enjoyed some degree of independence."

[197] This is indicated by Nachne-ki-talai and Ganj inscriptions of Vyāghradeva. Fleet (1963 rep.): 233 ff; Sharma, R.K. (1974):44-45; 179-80.

[198] Bhandarkar (1955): 42; Raychaudhuri (1953): 93-94, quoting *Vāyu Purāṇa* 45. 126, and *Mahābhārata* XII. 207. 42. The Pulindas are "invariably associated with Nerbudda (Rewa) and Vindhya region". Raychaudhuri (1953): 313, quoting Subandhu's *Vāsavadattā*, *Vāyu* and *Matsya Purāṇas.*

[199] Raychaudhuri (1953): 313, quoting *E.I.* 21, p. 126.

[200] Fleet (1963 rep.): 93-135.

[201] Sharma, R.K. (1974):44-45; 179-80. Both the Ḍabhālā and eighteen *āṭavika rājya* are mentioned in the Betul Plates (518-19 CE) and Khoh Plates (528-29).

It would appear that the *āṭavika*s, who were practically independent during the times of Aśoka had, by the 6th century CE, federated together in the woodlands of Ḍāhala in the eastern Vindhyas of central India.[202] Later, under the Kalacuris, this region witnessed a phenomenal rise of *muni*s thanks to Nohalā, a Malwa Chaulukya princess wedded to the Kalacuri Yuvarājadeva I (915-945 CE). Though women were not very welcome in the institutional system of the Siddhānta *maṭha*s,[203] the queen's support proved instrumental in providing a foothold to ascetics in the Ḍāhala region whence ultimately Siddhānta Śaivism went to Bengal and to the south.

---

[202] The *Harṣacarita* mentions them as *sāmanta*. According to Agrawala, the term in the text implies chief of 'a neighbouring state'. Cf., Agrawala (1964): 221.

[203] *E.I.*, 1, v. 67; p. 361. The verses prohibit women's entry in the *maṭha* during the night and impose certain other restrictions on pilgrims.

2

Ascetics

Nearly three centuries after Kadambaguhādhivāsī founded the line of Siddhānta ascetics at Kadambaguhā (Kadwaha) in *c.* 675 CE,[1] several epigraphs[2] came up, retrospectively celebrating their piety and power with much reverence and flourish. Even as these records update details, including myths and legends concerning these ascetics, they also afford historically significant accounts of the exalted temporal and political footing that the ascetics had acquired at the times of their writing. These accounts describe the Kadambaguhā-Mattamayūra[3] lineage of ascetics and its Kadwaha, Āmardaka[4] (Amrol) and Madhumatī[5] (Mahua) branches in the Gopācala region founded respectively by Kadambaguhādhivasī, Rudraśambhu (same as Āmardakatīrthanātha)[6]

---

1. Pathak (1960): 31.
2. For the list of these inscriptions issued either by the Siddhānta *munis* or their ruling disciples, *supra*, p. 6 fn. 30.
3. Mirashi (1955: 213, 220) refers to Kadambaguhā (Kadwaha) where there was 'a succession of sages'. Kadwaha remained in reckoning from *c.* 675 CE to VS 1587. Cf, Misra (2005): 283-291. It was renamed as Mattamayūrapura in Purandara's time (*c.* 825 CE), cf., *E.I.*, 1, vv. 9-14. The Ranod inscription mentions Mattamayūrapura as *sanmuniratnabhūmiṃ*, which was far-famed: *prasiddhamāvāridhi merukalpaṃ*..., 'famed across the *vāridhi* like Meru'. *E.I.*, 1, v.14.
4. We identify Āmardaka with Amrol, in Gwalior Distt of Madhya Pradesh. Cf., Misra (1993). The *tapovana* of Āmardaka and its migrant *ācāryas* are mentioned in the Senkapat inscription of the time of Śivagupta (*c.* 741-798 CE) from Chhattisgarh, *E.I.* 31, p.36, verse 16. This dating of Śivagupta follows Shastri (1995): I. 157. For the branches of Āmardaka in Rajasthan, Maharashtra and Karnāṭaka, *infra*, pp. 111-112 fns. 116, 119; also, Pathak (1960): 31.
5. Mirashi (1955): 213, v. 55. This lineage had a distinguished history beginning in Gopācala and then growing further in the Ḍāhala region subsequently as its seers occupied Golagnika, (present Gurgi near Rewa), Mirashi (1955): 200, v. 5.
6. Cf., Ranod inscription (*E.I.*, 1, p. 355, v, 9) combined with Bilhari inscription (Mirashi 1955: 220, vv, 48-49); also Mirashi (1974). The former refers to Āmardakatīrthanātha and the latter identifies him

and Pavanaśiva.[7] In these references, Kadambaguhā emerges as the source and other branches as its offshoots. The Mattamayūra ascetic lineage continued to expand through these branches without let. The expansion seems overlaid with unceasing territorial ambitions of its highly virtuous and resourceful ascetics who made it happen, and who, in the process, managed to acquire a conspicuously dominant presence and following in the Vindhyan hinterlands of central India. Kadambaguhā remained active even as its scions moved out elsewhere. The latest of such movements within central India from Kadambaguhā, following Dharmaśiva, is recorded in the Budhi Chanderi inscription of Raṇapāla, dated in VS 1100/1048 CE.[8] A brief account of this diaspora follows, beginning with their lineages, their distinguished *munis* and branches

DESCENT AND LINEAGES OF SIDDHĀNTA ASCETICS

The Ranod Stone Inscription[9] provides a succinct narrative of the inception and growth of the Kadambaguhā line (*vipula vardhita bhūriśākhaḥ*) and its rise to glory, distinguished by its highly acclaimed ascetics (*tasmin muniḥ sakalalokanamasyamūrtiḥ*) who were 'ascendant like the rising moon' (*indūpamaḥ pratidinaṃ samudīyamānaḥ*).[10] Other inscriptions add further details about both the lineage and the *maṭhas*, which its ascetics came to occupy and nurture. The ascetics carried on the famed line, perpetuating it through a succession[11] of *siddha-santati* or a string of disciples.[12] The lineage is ascribed a divine and *ṛṣi*-c descent connected to Brahmā, Śiva, Durvāsas and Āmardaka,[13] with Kadambaguhādhivāsī of the Ranod Stone

---

with Rudraśambhu, the *guru* of Mattamayūranātha (Purandara). See also Pathak (1960): 30, 31. Ranod (anc. Araṇipadra or Raṇipadra) developed as a significant centre of the Siddhānta ascetics with Purandara and was named as 'Upendrapura' after Purandara, the Upendra. See *infra*, p. 47 fn. 45. Also Misra, R.N. (1993): 120, fn. 18.

[7] Before these *munis*, Śankhamaṭhikādhipati and Terambipāla, who were immediate successors of Kadambaguhādhivāsī, had established their seats at Surwaya (ancient Sarasvatīpattana) and Terahi (ancient Terambi/Teramvi) which eventually grew into imposing monasteries.

[8] Cf., Jain and Trivedi, (1976): 88.

[9] *E.I.*, *1*, pp. 351-361.Ranod is in Shivpuri District adjoining Gwalior.

[10] *Ibid*, p. 355, vv.7-8. Kielhorn assigned the inscription to 10th or 11th century. It describes the attributes, functions and character of nine *munis* in the lineage of Kadambaguhādhivāsī.

[11] For details about the ascetics and their succession, see the Ranod Inscription (*E.I.* 1, p. 351ff) and the Gwalior Museum inscription (Mirashi 1974: 179-180). Also, Mirashi (1955): 202-203; 220-221; 231-233; 337-339; 371-373.

[12] *Supra*, p. 5 fns. 27, 28. The terms *siddha-santati* or *santati*, 'offspring', in their case signified not biological but spiritual descent.

[13] *Supra*, p. 1 fn. 2. Durvāsā connection of the Āmardaka line is stated in the Mudukari (Someśvara temple) inscription of an Alūpa king. Cf., Pathak (1955): 31, quoting *SII*, VII, no.134, p. 165. This connection of the Siddhānta ascetics of central India is implicit in the case of Rudraśambhu, the *āmardaka-tirtha-nātha*; it is specific about Śāntaśiva of the Dhureti Plates (1112-13 CE). The Malkapuram inscription reiterates it; cf., Sircar (1983): 530, v. 24. Pathak (1962: 30) suggests that

Inscription (v.8) figuring as its first historical personage. Thus, in a mythic account legitimating the divine sanctity of the lineage, the Ranod inscription (verses 5-8) traces its beginning to Brahmā's sacrifice (*yajña*) in the Himalayan Dāruvana ('pine forest') and Śiva's blessings to him. Brahmā's sacrificial fire lit in Dāruvana is assumed to be the seed (*bīja*) from which the line with its divine and *ṛṣic* connections grew out, starting with Kadambaguhādhivāsī.[14]

The 'Guhāvāsī' part of this name is significant for, in it, this *muni* seems being re-invented in the image of Śiva, the divine Guhāvāsī of the Himalayan retreat of Dāruvana whose errant conduct with the Vālakhilyas and wives of other ascetics is described in the *Purāṇas*.[15] We must hasten to add that the onomastic similarity between the historical Kadambaguhādhivāsī and the divine Śiva-Guhāvāsī was limited to the name alone as the former, in his pursuits, had little in common with the other Guhāvāsī's amorous antics described in the *Purāṇas*. A comparison between the two in respect of such amorous proclivities would have little credence as Siddhānta ascetics were celibates,[16] and they consistently took pride in having overcome their desire and passion.[17] Vālakhilyas,[18] the mythical sages of the Purāṇic story, however, remained relevant to the lineage because they are invoked in a Kadwaha inscription (*te Vālakhilyā maṇayo yathābdhau yasmin babhūva munayaḥ purāṇāḥ*)[19] as ancestors of the *guru* Purandara, one of the most celebrated ascetics of the line.[20]

Guhāvāsi founded the line of the Siddhānta ascetics and Rudraśambhu, the Āmardakatīrthanātha, 'systematized and spread' it out. For Durvāsā line of ascetics, see also Ghosh, Ranjushri (2010); Bhattacharya, Gaurishwar (2002).

[14] His real name or those of his immediate successors do not figure in the records. But, not mentioning the name of a *guru* is a time honoured practice in Indian Sanskritic tradition, e.g., *ātmanāma gurornāma nāmātikṛpaṇasya ca/śreyaskāmo na gṛhṇīyat jyeṣṭhaputra kalatrayoḥ*. I owe the reference to Professor G.C. Tripathi.

[15] Śiva is described as having incarnated himself at Dāruvana and allured the wives of ascetics there in his *bhikṣaṭana* form. Cf., Pathak 1960: 29; Vettam Mani: 2010: 729.

[16] Their life of celibacy continued until we hear of the *ācāryādhipati* Śāntaśiva, the brother (*anuja*) of Nādaśiva, in the Dhureti Plates of 1212 CE (CII, IV, i, p. 373-374). Śāntaśiva is described as the son (*suta*) of Vimalaśiva II. The categories of father, son and brother appear for the first time in this record, indicating that the erstwhile ascetics were now turning into householders. *Anuja* (younger brother) however finds mention in the Gurgi record also. Cf. Mirashi (1955): 229, v. 20.

[17] See, for instance, Praśāntaśiva in Mirashi (1955): 231, v. 9; Prabodhaśiva was an 'enemy of Madana' (*madanadviṣaḥ*), the god of love, Mirashi (1955): 202, v.9; Īsvaraśiva had 'vanquished' the god of love by his freedom from passion, Mirashi (1955): 221; Aghoraśiva 'never had to suffer from virulent poison of sensual enjoyment'. Mirashi (1955): 215, 224.

[18] Cf. Vettam Mani (2010): 101-102, sv. Balakhilya(s).

[19] *E.I.*, 37, p. 122, v. 3.

[20] This Kadwaha inscription seems intriguing as in listing the lineage of ascetics at Kadwaha it entirely ignores the entity of Kadambaguhādhivāsī. In that, the inscription seems to stand out as different in substance from the genealogical details of ascetics in the epigraphs from Bilhari, Ranod and Gwalior (Patangaśambhu's Gwalior record) which respectively regard Kadambaguhā

Kadambaguhādhivāsī, the first historical personage related to Siddhānta doctrine in central India, is ranked as its founder 'promulgator' and "head of the line".[21] In the *Linga*, *Vāyu* and *Kūrma Purāṇas*, he, as Guhāvāsī, figures as one of the twenty-eight incarnations of Śiva.[22] In that light, if this incarnated *Purāṇa*-ic Guhāvāsī is the same as the historical Kadambaguhādhivāsī[23] elevated and deified, the Ranod inscription would seem to be closer to what the *Purāṇa*-ic texts independently adumbrate but a Kadwaha inscription[24] categorically ignores.[25]

The Ranod Stone Inscription indicates that the successors of Kadambaguhādhivāsī chose to move out of Kadambaguhā (Kadwaha) and secure other woodland locations for their spiritual pursuits. Some of them, Rudraśiva[26] for instance, is explicitly mentioned in reference to the line of *siddha*s at Kadambaguhā who moved over to Āmardaka and came to be designated as Āmardaka-tīrtha-nātha, its 'lord' (*nātha*). It is not known whether his disciple Purandara, who first appeared at Aranipadra (Ranod), parted company with his *guru* Rudraśambhu at Kadwaha or at Āmardaka but we find him famously returning to Kadwaha-Mattamayūrapura, invited and settled there by Avantivarman, the local Caulukya-Śulki chief in Malwa. Purandara was indeed a celebrity of his times. The Ranod record (vv. 10-15) likens him to Śiva (*Purandara gururguruvad garimnaḥ*), praising the uncontested authority of his teachings (*...vyahanyatena vacanaṃ nayamārgavidbhiḥ*), his 'Sun-like resplendent lustre' (*...prakīrṇadyutiḥ*), his penance (*tapas*) and much more. According to the epigraph, Avantivarman approached him with veneration and, with great honour (*samārādhya*), invited him to his own realm (*ātmabhūmiṃ*) to purify (*...cakāra pūtaṃ*) it. On his initiation (*dīkṣā*) into the faith by Purandara, the prince in return offered him 'the very essence of his realm' (*nivedyayasmai nijarājyasāraṃ*) as a gift, thus redeeming, as it were, 'the very purpose of his birth' (*svajanma sāphalyamavāpa bhūpaḥ*). Moving from Araṇipadra to Mattamayūrapura (same as Kadambaguhā), Purandara had a Meru-like monastery built

---

as the source and Kadambaguhādhivāsi as the first *guru* of the line.

[21] Pathak (1960): 29.

[22] *Ibid.*

[23] *E.I.* 1, v. 8.

[24] *E. I.*, 37, p. 122, v. 3-5.

[25] There is no contemporary record of the time of Kadambaguhādhivāsī and genealogical details do not occur before the tenth century. However, near Kadwaha, the Mahua inscription does open with the Siddhāntika benedictory terminology regarding the godhead: *Namaḥ parama tattvāya niṣkalāya kalātmane/nānā vidha jagad janma sthāna saṃhāra hetave...* i.e. Śivā, the 'cause of generation, sustenance and destruction of the *jagat*.' *E.I.* 37, p. 55, v.1. This should indicate that Mahua (ancient Madhumatī) in the vicinity of Kadwaha had already imbibed Kadambaguhā's Siddhāntika tradition inaugurated by Guhāvāsī and even come up with a Dhūrjaṭī (matted-haired Śiva) temple which form was recalled later also, for instance in the Ranod inscription. *E.I.*, 1, v. 4.

[26] Mirashi (1955): 213, v. 48.

there.[27] He built yet another monastery in the *tapovana* of Araṇipadra (Upendrapura).[28] The event of Avantivarma's submission and subservience to Purandara marks the first substantive step towards a Siddhānta *muni*'s rise to power, authority and legitimacy both politically and temporally, so much that the accomplishment became etched in the ascetics' collective memory and came to be recalled and emulated repeatedly by several other ascetics following Purandara.

The Ranod inscription (verses 8-10) indicates that migrations early from Kadambaguhā (Kadwaha) facilitated Śankhamaṭhikādhipati (*c.* 700 CE), Terambipala (*c.* 725), Āmardakatīrthanātha[29] (*c.* 775 CE) and Purandara (*c.* 825) in successively occupying new locations respectively at Surwaya (anc. Sarasvatīpattana), Terahi (anc. Terambi), Amrol (anc. Āmardaka) and Kadwaha (twice occupied), in Gwalior, Shivpuri and Ashoknagar districts of northern Madhya Pradesh. The practice of securing new locations continued after Purandara too. The consistency in this diaspora marks appropriation of the dense *aṭavī* loci like Terahi, Mahua and others, skirted by rivers (**Maps 1, 2**), and defining them as *tapovanas* within the Siddhānta's sacred space, which ultimately ensured substantial territorial accretions to the *munis*' sphere of influence both in distant and peripheral regions.

One may notice a pattern in this expansion. In the beginning, each *muni* of the line seems to have selected and occupied a new location (*tapasthāna*) for his penance and meditation. This happened as an ascetic from an existing monastic centre migrated to a new site either of his own accord or on being sent out; instances of both are known from records.[30] The possession of the existing locations in continuity coupled with further additions through new establishments spurred the lineage's network in the sprawling tracts of the Vindhyan woodlands. In the process, the hilly and forested regions in Gopācala came to have its cluster of ascetics' seats at Kadambaguhā (Kadwaha), Terambi (Terahi), Araṇipadra (Ranod), Madhumatī (Mahua) and Indor (**Maps 1-3**) besides Sarasvatīpattana (Surwaya) and Āmardaka (Amrol), between the seventh and ninth centuries. Each one of these seats in the cluster eventually turned into an imposing monastic establishment with its *ācāryas*, temples, revenue, fairs and festivals, organisation, networking and more. These accruals and activities bring out the progressively rising influence of ascetics in the hinterland. The reorganization of monastic seats probably took place during Purandara's time early in the ninth century and

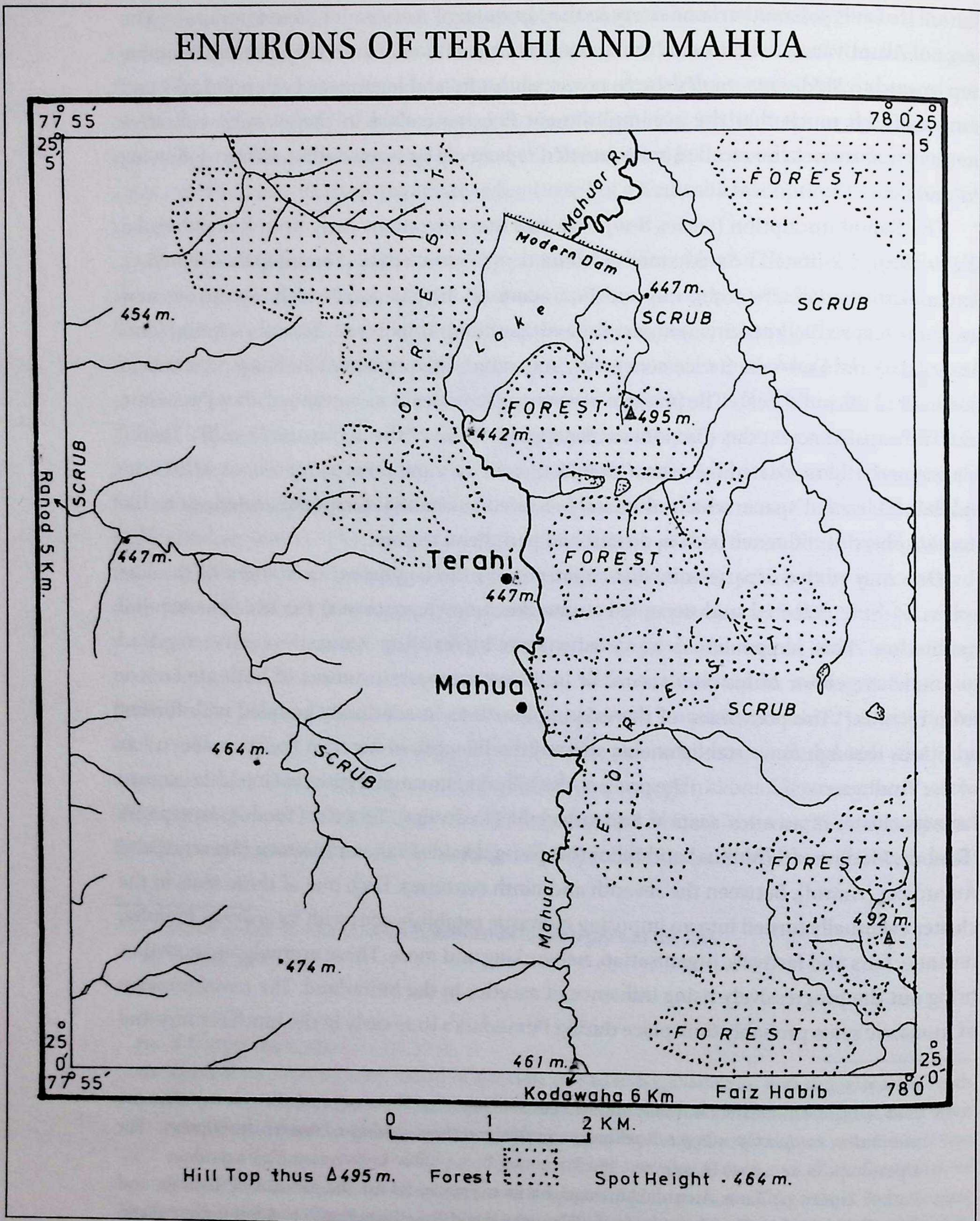
---

[27] *E.I.* 1. p. 355, v. 14.

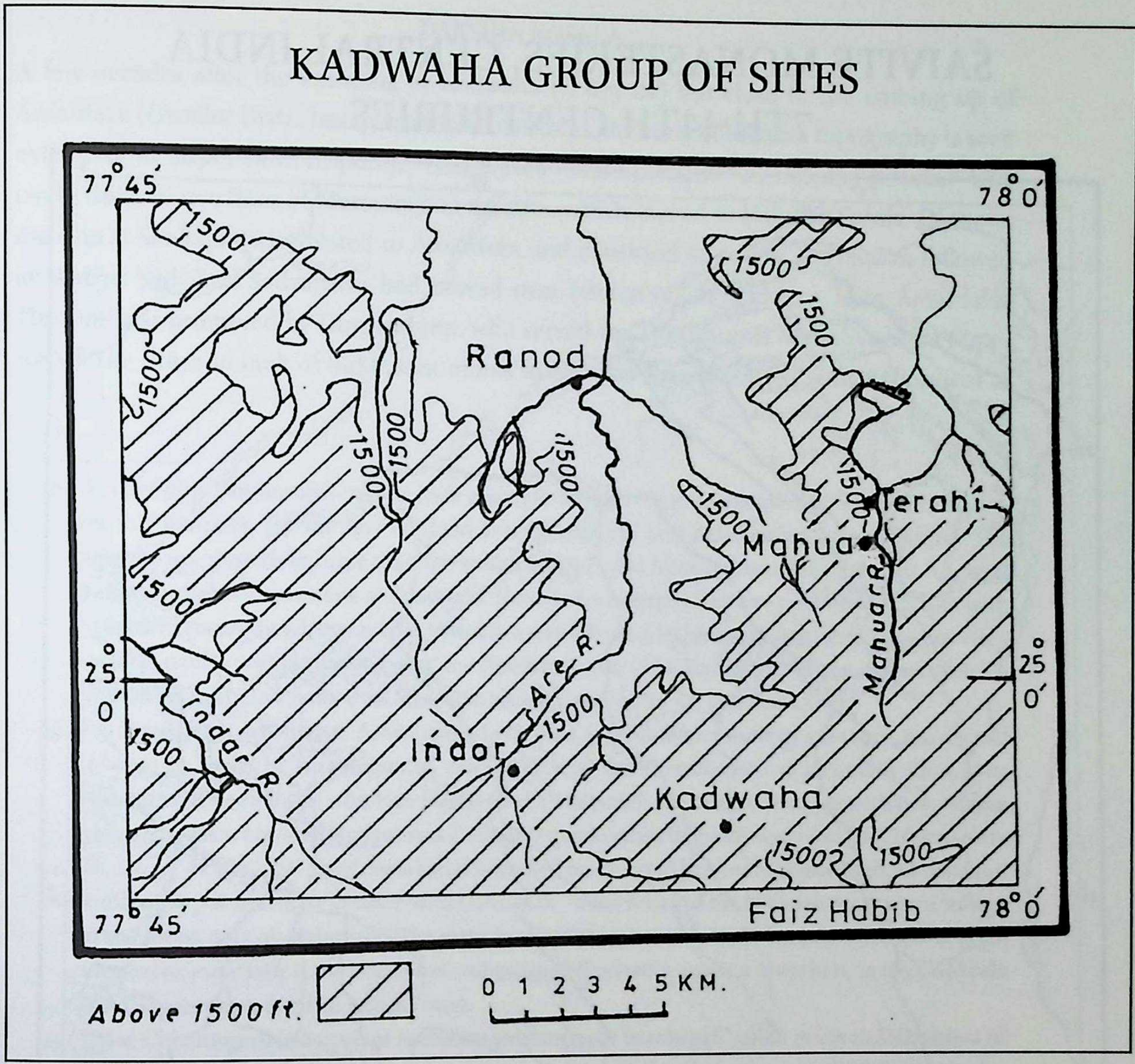
[28] *Ibid.*, v. 15. The monastery was fully endowed with material and means (*pratiṣṭhā*): *punardvitīyaṃ... munīndro raṇipadra sanjña tapōvanaḥ śreṣṭha maṭhaṃ vidhāya*, Ranod Inscription. For Upendrapura, see: p. 47 fn. 45.

[29] Pathak (1960: 31) dates Āmardakatīrthanātha to *c.* 775 CE. As for the ascetics of Terambi and Āmardaka, they are found moving out to distant places: those from Terahi to Ranipur Jharial and Bhañja territory in Odisha and those from Āmardaka to Senkapat near Sirpur in Dakṣiṇa Kosala.

[30] For instance, as Hṛdayaśiva was established at Nohaleśvara *maṭha*, he sent his 'well conducted disciple' Aghoraśiva to Vaidyanātha *maṭha*. Cf., Bilhari record, Mirashi (1955): 221, vv. 17-18.


ENVIRONS OF TERAHI AND MAHUA
77 55′
25 5
78 0′ 25 5
FOREST
Mahuar R.
Modern Dam
Lake
447 m.
SCRUB
SCRUB
454 m.
FOREST
FOREST
495 m.
442 m.
SCRUB
Ranod 5 Km.
447 m.
Terahi
447 m.
FOREST
FOREST
Mahua
SCRUB
464 m.
SCRUB
FOREST
492 m.
Mahuar R.
474 m.
FOREST
25 0′
77 55′
461 m.
Kodawaha 6 Km
Faiz Habib
25 0′
78 0′
0
1
2 KM.
Hill Top thus Δ495 m.
Forest
Spot Height · 464 m.

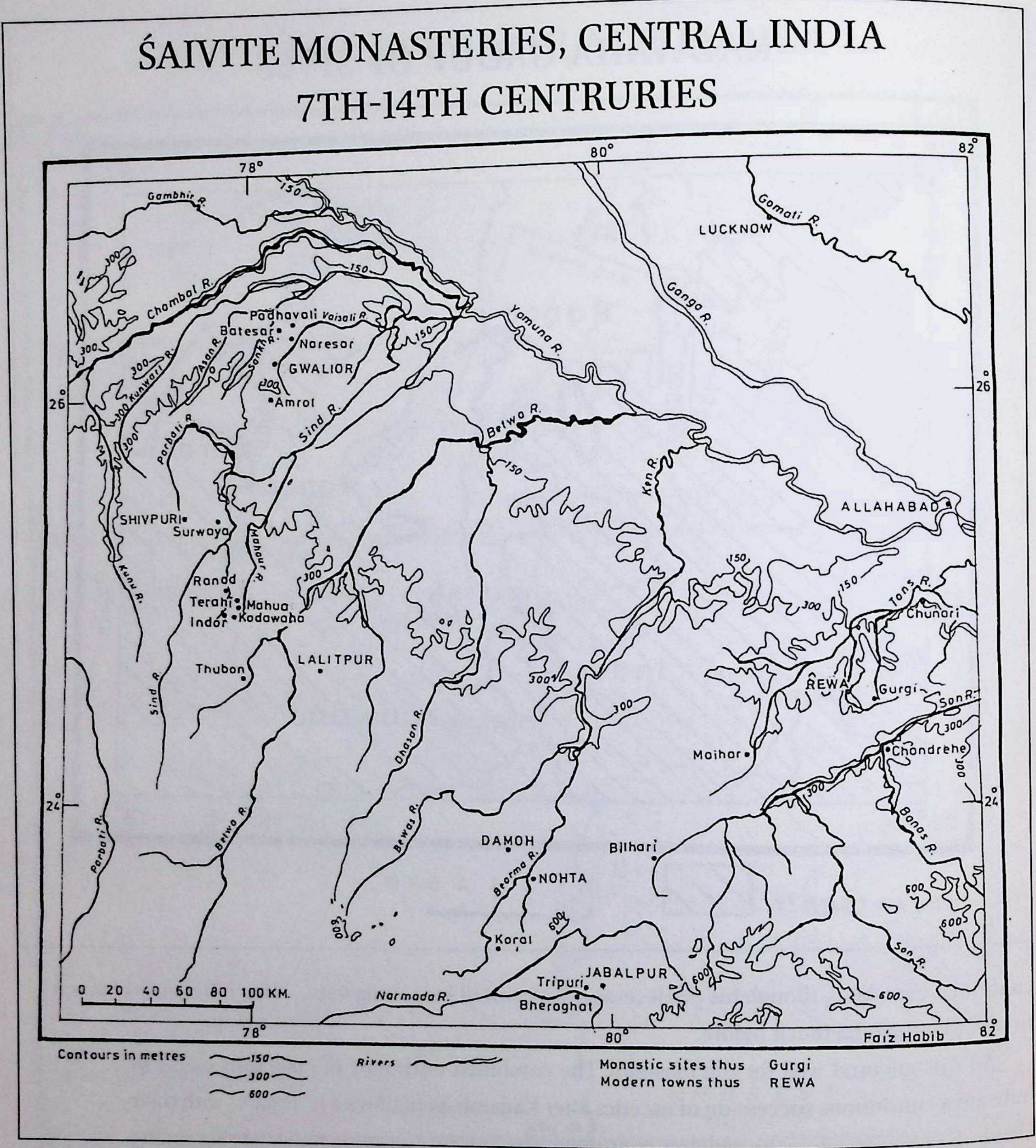
Map 1. *Vindhyāṭavī*: The environs of Terahi and Mahua.


KADWAHA GROUP OF SITES
77°45′
78°0′
1500
Ranod
Terahi
Mahua
Mahuar R.
Are R.
Indor
Indar R.
Kadwaha
25° 0′
Faiz Habīb
Above 1500 ft.
0 1 2 3 4 5 KM.

Map 2. The group of sites at Kadwaha.

continued even later, though his predecessors had started branching out from Kadambaguhā much before.

All this augured well for the diaspora. The combined testimony of epigraphs seems to indicate a continuous succession of ascetics after Kadambaguhādhivāsī (*c.* 675 CE) with their locations changing while the pedigree continued. The Ranod inscription indicates succeeding *munis* being designated after the locations they occupied. There is no record left of the succession of ascetics at Surwaya, Terahi, Indor and Amrol, which apparently continued to flourish, but epigraphs provide details about the monastic retreats at Araṇipadra (Ranod), Mattamayūrapura (Kadwaha) and Madhumatī (Mahua) in Gopācala region and their successive *gurus*. Information about their early settlements in Dakṣiṇa Kosala too comes out in the inscriptions from Sirpur and its vicinity. It is likely that ascetics' settlements in Dakṣiṇa


ŚAIVITE MONASTERIES, CENTRAL INDIA
7TH-14TH CENTRURIES
78°
80°
82°
26
24
Gambhir R.
Chambal R.
Padhavali
Vaisali R.
Batesar
Naresar
GWALIOR
Amrol
Asan R.
Sankh R.
Kunwari R.
Parbati R.
Sind R.
SHIVPURI
Surwaya
Mahaur R.
Kunu R.
Ranod
Terahi
Mahua
Indor
Kadawaha
Thubon
LALITPUR
Sind R.
Betwa R.
Parbati R.
Betwa R.
Dhasan R.
Bewas R.
DAMOH
Beorma R.
NOHTA
Koral
Tripuri
JABALPUR
Bheraghat
Narmada R.
Bilhari
Maihar
REWA
Gurgi
Chunari
Tons R.
Son R.
Chandrehe
Banas R.
Son R.
Ken R.
Yamuna R.
Ganga R.
Gomati R.
LUCKNOW
ALLAHABAD
150
300
600
0 20 40 60 80 100 KM.
Faiz Habib
Contours in metres
150
300
600
Rivers
Monastic sites thus Gurgi
Modern towns thus REWA

Map 3. Śaivite monasteries in central India, 7th-14th centuries.

Kosala grew out of their excursion from the *tapovana* of Āmardaka to which a reference has been made in the Senkapat inscription.[31] A brief description of the Siddhānta *siddhas* and their succession at their different monasteries follows, beginning with Dakṣiṇa Kosala.

---

[31] *E.I.*, 31, p. 36, v. 16.

DAKṢIṆA KOSALA

A few decades after the founding of Kadwaha (*c.* 675 CE) but close to the coming up of Āmardaka (Gwalior Distt., last quarter of 8th century), the early Siddhānta topography is seen extending to Sirpur (anc. Śripura),[32] Nandapura[33] and Senkapat[34] in Dakṣiṇa Kosala.[35] One could think of two lines of Mattamayūra ascetics, which moved to Dakṣiṇa Kosala. Of these, the one at Senkapat was related to Āmardaka and consisted of *ācārya* Sadyaḥśiva followed by *ācārya* Sadāśiva. Sadyaḥśiva had moved over (*vinirgata*) to Senkapat from Āmardaka. This line was promoted by Durgarakṣita, who served the Pāṇḍuvaṃśī Mahāśivagupta (*c.*741-798).[36] The other branch of Siddhānta *munis* in Dakṣiṇa Kosala started with Aghoraśiva at

---

[32] A set of nine Pāṇḍuvaṃśī copper plate inscriptions from Sirpur contains significant information on this diaspora. For the text of these inscriptions, cf., Jain Balachandra (2005): 197-217. The relevant inscriptions indicate that Aghoraśiva flourished at Nandapura and Dīrghācārya, his pupil belonging to Nandapura line at Phuṭṭipāṭi, moved over to Sirpur. The line continued at Sirpur with Vyāpaśiva succeeding Dīrghācārya. Vyāpaśiva was followed by his pupil Astraśiva. These ascetics, as their names suggest, belonged to the Siddhānta line of Sirpur. In one of the copper plates a disciple of Vyāpaśiva named Śrī Śivācārya also finds mention. Cf, Jain (2005): 213.

[33] For Nandapura, see Shastri, A. M. (1995): I.108; II. 1:1, p.5. Nandapura was in existence as a district (*bhoga*) in times of Śarabhapurīya ruler Narendra. Its identification is uncertain though its equation has been made with Nandagaur on the Mahanadi (in Raigarh Distt) or with two villages named Nandaur big and Nandaur small, adjoining each other, in the Bilaspur Distt in Chhattisgarh.

[34] Cf., *E.I.*, 31, vv. 16-18, pp. 35-36. Senakapat is located on the right bank of Mahanadi, about two kms. south of Sirpur in Raipur District of Chhattisgarh. In the fifties of the last century, it was a 'village in the forest area of Mahanadi'. The term Senakapat (*sainya kapāṭa!*), 'barrier to troops' is quite suggestive, especially if the occasional militancy of Siddhānta ascetics elsewhere in the Gopācala and Ḍāhala region is taken into account.

[35] These Chhattisgarh inscriptions including the one from Senakapat, which refers to Sadyaḥśiva of Āmardaka *tapovana*, may indicate that Āmardaka branch after Kadambaguhādhivāsī of Kadwaha had come into existence even before Rudraśiva, who became the Āmardaka-*tīrtha-nātha* in *c.*775 CE, the date assigned to him by Pathak (1966: 31). The Āmardaka *tapovana* turned into a *tīrtha* when Rudraśiva became its *sthānapati* but the *munis* had started moving from Āmardaka to Senkapat in the woodlands of Dakṣiṇa Kosala, by the time of Sadhyaḥśiva before Mahāśivagupta Balarjuna, the Pāṇḍuvaṃśī ruler (*c.* 741-798 CE).

[36] Cf. *E.I.*, 31, p. 36, v. 16ff. Sadyaḥśivācārya, emigrated from the 'penance grove' (*tapovana*) of Āmardaka and Sadāśivācārya, his disciple (vv. 17-18) took over the Śambhu temple (v. 13) at Senkapat. Both the ascetics were contemporaries of Mahāśivagupta (c. 741-798 CE). The donor Durgarakṣita made a grant of four *hala*-measures of black-soil land in Koḍāsīmā village and two *halas* of land respectively in the Viyāṇaka village and in a locality called Lāṭa in Śriparṇikāgrāma. Sadāśivācārya and his successors were supposed to "enjoy and partake of it" in perpetuity. *E.I.*, 31, p. 33. The ascetics were entrusted with the work of arranging *yāga* and *dīkṣā*, exposition of doctrine (*samayasya vyākhyā*) besides running a free feeding *sattra* every year on three specific occasions. The stay of the ascetics in the temple was made mandatory.

Nandapura sometime around *c.* 738 CE[37] during the rule of the Pāṇḍuvaṃśins. Mahaśivagupta Bālārjuna is mentioned as the patron of Vyāpaśiva (778-796),[38] a pupil of Dīrghācārya (753-778) and grand pupil of Aghoraśivācārya (c. 738 CE) of Nandapura. Vyāpaśiva was followed by his pupil Astraśiva in the line and both figure successively as managing the Bāleśvara temple complex which according to a Sirpur copper plate inscriptions was built in the 37th year of Mahāśivagupta (in *c.* 777 CE),[39] with a *maṭhikā* added to it the next year.[40] Vyāpaśiva was managing the Bāleśvara *maṭhikā* during the time of Mahāśivagupta from 37th year of the latter's reign (*c.* 777 CE) until Astraśiva took over in *c.* 793 CE and continued there at least for two more years. There is no record left of this line of seers after Astraśiva and we do not know what happened to him after those two years. The records, however, do indicate Śaiva Siddhāntins co-existing with Soma Siddhāntins in the Bāleśvara Bhaṭṭāraka temple complex and its adjuncts.[41] There is no information about the Āmardaka lineage of Sadyaḥśiva at Senkapat either, after his successor Sadāśiva. As for the line of Aghoraśiva, it seems that its Śrīpura *tapovana* was taken over by the Soma Siddhāntins.[42]

---

[37] Aghoraśiva's connections with any of the pre-existing Siddhānta centers are not known but he surfaced at Nandapura a few decades after Kadambaguhādhivāsī founded the line at Kadwaha in *c.* 675 CE. He seems to have been a contemporary of either Candragupta (*c.* 700-720 CE) or Harṣagupta (c. 720-740 CE), the Pāṇḍuvaṃśi rulers. For dates of these rulers, cf., Shastri (1995): I. 157. There is no evidence to ascertain contact between these rulers and Aghoraśiva. But the accounts would certainly point to early migration of Kadwaha ascetics to Dakṣiṇa Kosala immediately after Kadambaguhādhivasī. The epigaphs confirm that the exodus of *muni*s from Kadwaha to other locations had started with his successor Śankhamaṭhikādhipati.

[38] The Sirpur Copper Plate inscription (No.4) describes the grant of Hastipadraka on the Svalpaśarkarāmārga, and a village named Bhāṇḍagāracuttā, which Mahāśivagupta, the Pāṇḍuvaṃśin ruler of Sirpur made over to Siddhāntin seer Vyāpaśiva who looked after Śrī Bāleśvara Bhaṭṭāraka temple dedicated to Śiva and its attached *maṭhikā*. Cf., Jain, Balachandra (2005 Rep.): 204, 206-207. He is thus found established in the woodlands and its *padraka*s that stood close to it. For Śrī Bāleśvara Bhaṭṭāraka temple dedicated to Śiva and its attached *maṭhikā*, cf., Shastri, Ajay Mitra (1992): 15-23.

[39] Jain, Balchandra (rep. 2005): 204; Shastri (1995: I.157) dates Mahaśivagupta to *c.* 741 CE and suggests that his reign ended by the close of the eighth century.

[40] Jain, Balchandra (rep. 2005):206. Considering that Vyāpaśiva, first mentioned in the Sirpur Copper Plate grant of year 37 of Mahaśivagupta, was the ruler's contemporary, the date of his *guru* Dīrghācārya of Phuṭṭipāṭi (*Phuṭṭipāṭi vinirgata Nandapurīya bhagvat śrīmat Dīrghācārya* (cf, Jain, Balchandra 2005 rep.: 197) would be *c.* 753 CE. Assuming an average active working span of twenty-five years for each ascetic, Vyāpaśiva's grand *guru* Aghoraśiva of Nandapura could be placed in *c.* 738 CE. What happened at Nandapura and its offshoot at Phuṭṭipāṭi, is not known.

[41] Recent excavations at Sirpur have unearthed several structures described by the excavators as 'priests's house' or 'chief priests' house.' Their Siddhānta connections, however, are not clear in their details. For description of such structures, cf, Sharma, A.K. et al. (2014) *Secular Monuments of Sirpur*, Delhi: B.R. Publishing Corporation, pp. 85-96.

[42] Cf., Shastri, A. M. (1996): 129-30. The Siddhāntins held on to the Bāleśvara Bhaṭṭāraka temple

KADAMBAGUHĀ

As the prime centre of the Siddhāntins, Kadwaha has an interesting history of succession which is recapitulated in the narrative of the Ranod inscription. It indicates that Kadambaguhādhivāsī settled here possibly in a *guhā*, 'a cave in a Kadamba grove', (as the name would suggest), as its founder.[43] Two of his successors, namely: Śankhamaṭhikādhipati and Terambipāla, moved out respectively to Sarasvatīpattana (Surwaya) and Terambi (Terahi) while Āmardkatīrthanātha, the third one, spent his early days here before moving out to Āmardaka.[44] The names of successive ascetics after Kadambaguhādhivāsī in the Ranod Stone Inscription (vv. 7-8) seem to suggest that as the presiding masters of new locations they came to be firmly endowed with administrative power, and as such they assumed the titles like *adhipati*, 'overlord', *pāla*, 'protector', and *nātha*, 'lord'. These titles have their conventional connotations of control and command and indicate the emergence of *muni*s as masters of their newly established territories. Purandara, succeeding Āmardkatīrthanātha, moved to the *tapovana* of Aranipadra. It appears from the descriptions in the Ranod inscription that he was also known as Upendra and Aranipadra got renamed as Upendrapura after him.[45] But then the Kadwaha Fragmentary Inscription strikes a discordant note, repudiating the aforesaid pedigree of ascetics described in the Ranod record and partly reiterated in the Bilhari inscription of Yuvarājadeva II.[46]

The Kadwaha Fragmentary Inscription ascribes the founding of the Kadwaha-Mattamayūra line to the mythical Vālakhilya sages who figure in it as *munayaḥ purāṇāḥ*. Then, the record affirms Purandara as its virtual founder (*tatrāsīt prathamaḥ Purandara guru*..., v. 5). He is the same Purandara who had "practised penance at Ranipadra like Śrīkanṭha did at *Dāruvana*," (v. 7), a description that repeats what is said of him in the Ranod inscription. In this reiteration, the version of the Kadwaha record is in tune with that of Ranod, but its version of Purandara

---

complex at Śrīpura along with its monastery and Dayeśvara, Amareśvara, Abbeśvara and possibly Ammeśvara shrines which were built in twenty years between 37th to 57th year of Mahāśivagupta's reign. These works must have made the Pāṇḍuvaṃśin capital a stronghold of Siddhānta Śaivism. But the sect's history after Astraśiva remains unknown. For a brief description of the Soma Siddhānta, cf., Pathak (1960): 23-25.

[43] Pathak (1960):31, places Guhāvāsī in 675 CE. His conclusion is based on the Chandrehe inscription of Prabodhaśiva dated in K.S. 724/973 CE. He writes that 'Prabodhaśiva is 12th from Guhāvāsī and hence, taking twenty-five years for one generation, Guhāvāsī may be placed in c. 675 CE and Rudraśambhu [same as Āmardakatīrthanātha] in 775 CE.'

[44] The Bilhari inscription (Mirashi 1955: 220, v.48) refers to Rudraśambhu (same as Āmardaka-tīrthanātha), 'worthy of adoration', and the 'chief of sages of Kadambaguhā' line based at Kadambaguhā.

[45] Upendrapura could be explained as the '*pura* of Purandara' taking Purandara, the ascetic as Upendra in likeness of the legendary Purandara-Indra. This punning on name may perhaps explain why Aranipadra of *śaivācārya* Purandara-Upendra could indeed be the Upendrapura where Avantivarma received initiation and then took his *guru* to Mattamayūrapura.

[46] Mirashi (1955): p.220, vv.48-49.

being the 'first sage' descending from Vālakhilyas, regardless of his four other predecessors mentioned in the Ranod inscription would hint at schism in the Siddhāntins' monastic set up some generations after Purandara.[47]

The Kadwaha Fragmentary inscription differs from other epigraphs in respect of Purandara's successors too. Other records indicate that he was succeeded by Dharmaśambhu at Kadambaguhā (Mattamayūrapura),[48] and by Kavacaśiva at Aranipadra.[49] We have a reference to Śikhāśiva descending from Purandara at Madhumatī, but this Purandara is not pertinent here as he is different from Purandara, the *mattamayūranātha*.[50] The Bilhari inscription[51] describes succession at Kadwaha from Purandara to Dharmaśambhu to Sadāśiva;[52] but after Sadāśiva its narrative moves to Madhumatī with Purandara-*mādhumateya* as Sadāśiva's successor occupying Madhumatī, instead of Kadwaha. The record is silent as to who succeeded Sadāśiva at Kadwaha.

The version of the Kadwaha Fragmentary Stone Inscription regarding the order of succession at Kadwaha after Purandara (*mattamayūranātha*) is different from that of the Bilhari record too. Dharmaśambhu and Sadāśiva fail to figure in the Kadwaha record. On the contrary, after Purandara, his successor's name is perfunctorily mentioned as *bhuvanāśraya paṇḍita* (*c.* 850-875 CE), who is described as a 'conqueror of the god of love,' (like Śiva was to Māra, v. 11), 'clever in giving refuge to the (whole) world'. After him came Dharmaśiva (*c.* 875 CE), the warrior monk,[53] when the (Kadwaha) *āśrama* continued to flourish (*tasyāśrame vardhayatastapānsi*, v. 13). He is supposed to figure as Dharmaśambhu in the Budhi Chanderi inscription (vv.3-4) which mentions three other *munis* after him—a nameless one and then Prabodhaśiva and Vīṇāmuni—not at Kadambaguhā but at Chanderi. The *munis* of Budhi Chanderi record—at least the first two of them—perhaps occupied a *vāsasthāna* or *vasati* at Thubon.[54] Later, Prabodhaśiva (different from Prabodhaśiva of Chandrehe), the second one of these three *munis*, settled in an *āśrama* that he got built near Chanderi by the river Urvaśī (Orr).[55] These establishments at Thubon and Chanderi apparently grew up as offshoots of the Kadwaha *maṭha*.

---

[47] This elision in genealogical succession at Kadwaha might have happened perhaps between the time of Dharmaśiva, the warrior *sthānapati* of Kadwaha and the other *sthānapati* who was a contemporary of Harirāja, a Later Pratihāra chief. Kadwaha, in their times is seen to have further distinguished itself politically and militarily which possibly encouraged its *munis* to assert its distinction from other competing branches.

[48] Mirashi (1955): 213, vv. 49-50.

[49] *E.I.* 1, p. 355.

[50] Chandrehe Stone Inscription, v. 5, Mirashi (1955): 202. Verse 4 of the record connects Purandara to Mattamayūra clan. This Purandara 'performed austerities' and was a 'spiritual preceptor of kings.' The description may remind us of Purandara Mattamayūranātha who had 'initiated' Avantivarma into his fold. *Supra*, p. 40. But reference to Cūḍāśiva-Śikhāśiva as Purandara's disciple and successions afterwards help in distinguishing one Purandara from the other. Accordingly, Purandara of the Chandrehe record ought to be identified with Mādhumateya of Bilhari record, the descendant of Sadāśiva of Kadambaguhā. Cf. also, Mirashi (1955): cliii.

[51] Mirashi (1955): 220, vv.52-58. s

[52] The genealogy of sages in Kadwaha Fragmentary record leaves out reference to Sadāśiva. Chronologically, sages in the Kadwaha record would cover the period from Purandara (*c.* 825 CE) to the Later Pratihāra Bhīma (*c.* 1009 CE), when Īśvaraśiva was the presiding ascetic at Kadwaha. Specific information about particular sages at Kadwaha after Īśvaraśiva is missing.

[53] See also *Infra* pp. 71-72.

At Kadwaha, after Dharmaśiva's demise, his disciple—his name is lost both in the Kadwaha and Budhi Chanderi records—took charge of the monastery. The genealogical account in the Kadwaha Fragmentary Inscription indicates that this *ācārya* (verses 19-22) was a contemporary of the Later Pratihāra king Harirāja who is titled as *nṛpacakravartī*. Harirāja is said to have approached him through a messenger who met him and briefed him about the king.[56] This would indicate that the *ācārya* was either unaware or feigned ignorance of the ruler who, on his part, knew the *ācārya* well enough. After interrogating the messenger as to who the ruler was, he reluctantly allowed Harirāja to visit him in the monastery. Harirāja came over, received *dīkṣā* from him and offered a gift of elephants to him in return. The *ācārya*, however, preferred to settle for a gift of villages instead. Harirāja's known dates range from *c.*984 to *c.* 997-98 CE;[57] and this nameless *ācārya* of Kadwaha may be similarly dated in the last quarter of the tenth century. The Kadwaha Fragmentary Inscription contains no other details about succession after this *ācārya*, but we do know of his successors at Budhi Chanderi. Kadwaha continued to remain invested by the Siddhānta munis. One of these was Īśvaraśiva, a contemporary of Bhīma, the son of Harirāja.[58] Other ascetics too followed him but their names have not been deciphered from the damaged record. The pilgrims' records at Kadwaha indicate that this sacred place remained in prominence as a centre of pilgrimage until VS 1587.[59]

---

[54] Near the Sitamarhi temple at Thubon there is still a rectangular structure, roofless now, which could have represented a stone-built but unpretentious Saivite dwelling (*vasati*). For *vasati*, cf, *E.I.*, 1, p. 357, v. 31.

[55] *Infra*, pp. 124-125.

[56] The *ācārya*, oblivious of the *nṛpa cakravartī* Harirāja enquired of the messenger as to who this king was: *āyuṣmān nṛpatih ko ayaṃ iti papṛccha samyamī*. Not minding this effrontery, the messenger explained that he belonged to the line of the Pratihāra rulers descending from Dhūrbhaṭa. The meeting between the *muni* and king finally came off and the latter received initiation (*dīkṣā*) into the faith.

[57] Cf, Bharat Kala Bhavan Plates of VS 1040 in *E.I.*, 31, pp. 309-313 and Thubon Inscription of Harirājadeva of VS 1055, in *E.I.*, 40, 105-108. Cf., also Jain and Trivedi (1976): 87.

[58] Pathak (1960): 35. A twenty-four-line mutilated inscription containing the names of Śaiva ascetics is known from Kadwaha but only Īśvaraśiva's name is preserved in it. He is said to have built a 'mansion' and planted a garden. He is also described as one steeped in austere life. Cf., Singh, Arvind Kumar, "Inscriptions from Kadwaha, Dist. Guna (M.P.)", *Pragdhara*, No.10, p. 238, fn.16, quoting Garde. M.B. *Gwalior Administrative Report* for (*samvat*) 1996, pp.44-45, no. 30

ARAṆIPADRA

The *tapovana* of Araṇipadra (Ranod, Shivpuri District) came into reckoning when it was secured for penance by Purandara-*mattamayūranātha*, the fifth ascetic of the line. He subsequently got re-settled at Kadambaguhā (Mattamayūrapura)[60] but retained his interest in Araṇipadra. As mentioned in the Ranod inscription he refurbished it[61] and installed his disciple Kavacaśiva there. Kavacaśiva was followed by Sadāśiva, Hṛdayaśiva and Vyomaśiva.[62] Counting from *c.* 825 CE, the date of Purandara, the succession of *munis* at Araṇipadra would roughly cover a period of 125 years, with 25 years on average assigned to each *muni*. This would place Vyomaśiva in *c.* 925 CE. And, if Pataṅgaśiva is placed at Ranod (not at Kadwaha which yielded his Gwalior Museum inscription),[63] then the ascetics of the line at Ranod would have continued till *c.* 950 CE. That the Siddhānta ascetics' lineage at Araṇipadra continued even further is confirmed in a Mss. of *Prāyaścitta Samuccaya*, composed by Hṛdayaśiva which refers to Lambakarṇa, a *muni* of Śrī Raṇipatraka *āśrama* who descended from Mattamayūra lineage (*mattamayūra vaṃśaja*).[64] In being the preceptor of the Paramāra ruler Sīyaka (944-973 CE), he may be similarly dated. This would confirm the continuity of the Ranod line of the *mattamayūra santati* upto *c.* 973 CE after which the records about this monastic retreat are silent.

MADHUMATĪ

An offshoot of Mattamayūras, the Madhumatī branch flourished eminently along with its highly acclaimed seers adept in their diverse roles whether in piety or power. The founding of Madhumatī is ascribed to Pavanaśiva alias *mādhumateya*[65] in the Bilhari record.[66] It lists

---

[59] For modifications in the role and function of the Kadwaha monastery during the Sultanate period, cf., Sears, Tamara I (2009):7-31.

[60] *srīmatpuremattamayūra nāmni*, *E.I.* 1, p. 355, v. 14.

[61] *Supra*, p. 41 fn. 28.

[62] Mirashi (1974: 179-82) includes Pataṅgaśambhu after Vyomaśiva.

[63] Cf., Willis (1996): 113.

[64] Pathak (1960): 34.

[65] Cf., Pathak (1960): 30. It would chronologically be appropriate to assume some gap of time between Pavanaśiva and his successors Śabdaśiva and Īśvaraśiva in occupying the Madhumatī monastery.

[66] Mirashi (1955): 220, v. 43. The stone inscriptions from Chandrehe (*ibid.*, p. 200, vv. 4-6), Bilhari (*ibid.*, p. 213, vv. 52-55) and Gurgi (*ibid.*, p. 227, vv. 3-5) have their versions of genealogy of Madhumatī ascetics. But the difference may be resolved by placing three ascetics namely Pavanaśiva, Śabdaśiva and Īśvaraśiva (of Bilhari inscription, v. 43) before Purandara *madhumateya* (*c.* 890 CE) and his disciple Cūḍāśiva (same as Śikhāśiva: *c.* 915 CE). The dates would thus chronologically conform to Yuvarājadeva I (*c.* 915-45 CE)—also his wife Nohalā—and their son Lakṣmaṇarāja II (*c.* 945-70

Śabdaśiva and Īśvaraśiva as his successors, and the latter is said to have eventually moved to Bilhari to take charge of the Nauhalesvara monastery built by Nohala there. The genealogical details in epigraphs require accommodating Purandara-*mādhumateya* and Cūḍāśiva (same as Śikhāśiva) too at Madhumati, close to Śabdaśiva and Īśvaraśiva, particularly the latter. It seems that Śabdaśiva had a short span as *sthānapati* at Madhumatī which therefore had to have Sadaśiva's disciple Purandara from Kadambaguhā. The Chandrehe record[67] indicates that this Purandara-*mādhumateya*, like his namesake Purandara-*mattamayūranātha*, belonged to the 'Mattamayūra' lineage. Madhumatī continued to flourish with such dispensations, but, as is apparent, it was also crowded with several eminent *munis*, including Īśvaraśiva, Purandara-*mādhumateya*, Cūḍāśiva, Hṛdayaśiva and Aghoraśiva.[68] Some of them therefore could be spared to move out to new locations and they indeed did so. *Mādhumateya* (Purandara of Chandrehe record) was succeeded by Cūḍāśiva at Madhumatī; Hṛdayaśiva and Aghoraśiva followed him later. Of these *munis*, the last two, who were contemporaries of the Kalacuri Lakṣmaṇarāja II (945-970 CE), did not remain confined to Madhumatī. But even before them the scions of the Madhumatī branch—Īśvaraśiva who descended from Śabdaśiva (Bilhari record v. 43) and Prabhāvaśiva who descended from *Madhumatī-pati* Cūḍāśiva (Chandrehe record. v. 5)—had moved over to the Ḍāhala country, thanks to the Kalacuri Yuvarājadeva I (915-945 CE) and his spouse Nohalā, the parents of the second Lakṣmaṇarāja. Prabhāvaśiva founded the Golagnika (*golakī*) *maṭha* at Gurgi, 'sanctifying' it by his presence (*tapodhanapatiḥ kṛtaścaranapūta-golagnikaḥ*).[69] The rendering of *golagnika* as the 'wanton woman that was the earth' by Mirashi[70] may need reconsideration, for the term apparently signifies the *golakī maṭha* that was later described as a *vaṃśa* (clan) in the Malkapuram inscription. The name survives today as Gurgi,[71] a village near Rewa which, though in ruins now, was once the site of the two majestic temples[72] besides the *golakī* monastery of Prabhāvaśiva[73]—Sadbhāvaśambhu of Malkapuram inscription—whose lineage finds mention in the Jabalpur plates of Jayasiṃha too.

With Prabhāvaśiva installed there, Gurgi became a significant offshoot of the Madhumatī branch. Prabhāvaśiva was followed by Praśāntaśiva whose disciples Īśānaśambhu and

---

CE) who were the Kalacuri rulers on whose invitation the ascetics of Madhumatī came to their kingdom.

[67] Mirashi (1955): 202.

[68] Sikhāśiva, and Cūḍāśiva are synonymous and refer to the same *muni*; the former is mentioned in the Chandrehe inscription as a disciple of Purandara. Cf. Mirashi (1955): 202, v.4. Hṛdayaśiva and Aghoraśiva descended from him. Cf., Mirashi (1955): 220-221.

[69] Chandrehe Stone Inscription, vv, 4-5, Mirashi (1955): 202.

[70] Mirashi (1955): 202, v. 5, fn. 2.

[71] A locality called Gorkhi at Gwalior today may also be reminiscent of a *golakī maṭha* that might once have existed there!

[72] Misra, R.N. (1987b): 140, 141.

[73] It was established with the support of much wealth. Cf., Mirashi (1955): 228, v. 7.

Prabodhaśiva continued at Chandrehe after him. As for Īśvaraśiva, as mentioned above, he moved from Madhumatī to Ḍāhala region to take over the Nohaleśvara monastery (at Bilhari) and its accompanying temple that was established by Kalacuri queen Nohalā, a Caulukya princess from Malwa.[74] After Nohalā and during the time of Lakṣmaṇarāja II, the title of Nohaleśvara *maṭha* went to Aghoraśiva,[75] the disciple of Hṛdayaśiva of the Madhumatī lineage. This happened on a dispensation made in his favour by his *guru* Hṛdayaśiva who preferred to preside over the Vaidyanātha monastery (at Maihar).[76] Inscriptions are not forthcoming about who continued at Madhumatī subsequently but the exodus of its *muni*s to Ḍāhala is clearly recorded in the Bilhari, Chandrehe and Gurgi inscriptions.

Thus, it seems that after Cūḍāśiva, the branches of Madhumatī proliferated with much vigour. The desciples of Cūḍāśiva settled down in Ḍāhala region in two lines. One of these extended from Prabhāvaśiva through Praśāntaśiva to Īśānaśiva and Prabodhaśiva at Gurgi and Chandrehe, even as the other line mentioned in the Bilhari record flourished with Hṛdayaśiva both at Nauhaleśvara and Vaidyanātha *maṭha*s before Aghoraśiva occupied Nauhaleśvara at Bilhari. Īśvaraśiva who figures with Pavanaśiva in the Bilhari record retained Madhumatī until Nohalā had him at Nohaleśvara *maṭha* at Bilhari prior to Hṛdayaśiva taking it over. After Cūḍāśiva, Prabhāvaśiva (same as Sadbhāvaśambhu of Malkapuram Pillar inscription), emulating his *guru*, extended his line at Gurgi and Chandrehe and eventually also in another *golakī maṭha* that was established at Tripurī or its vicinity under his disciple Somaśambhu or the latter's successor Vāmaśambhu, as mentioned in the Malkapuram inscription. Somaśambhu is not likely to have immediately succeeded Prabhāvaśiva at the *golakī* of Gurgi because it went to the latter's other disciple Praśāntaśiva. It has also been argued that Vāmaśambhu was the *ācārya* who moved over to Tripurī and "initiated the line of *rājaguru*s of the Kalacuri kings which continued till the end of the Kalacuri dynasty in Ḍāhala".[77] If that is so, it will follow that Somaśambhu may have had his stint at Gurgi after Praśāntaśiva, who succeeded Prabhavasiva. Praśāntaśiva first constructed a temple at Gurgi[78] and then got more actively involved with Chandrehe where too a temple and a monastery came up through his patronage. Somaśambhu may have continued his activities of erudition at Gurgi even as he installed his disciple Vāmaśambhu at Tripuri. All these acquisitions involving territorial expansion were in conformity with the practice of the Mattamayūras to extend their network with ever new offshoots. The scions of Madhumatī, namely Cūḍāśiva and his disciples including Prabhāvaśiva and his disciples, were instrumental in actively achieving this.

---

[74] Mirashi (1955): 221. It refers to Nohaleśvara monastery. We identify Nohaleśvara *maṭha*'s location at Bilhari because the two villages—Nipānīya and Ambipāṭaka—granted to Īśvaraśiva and seven other villages assigned to the temple by the queen Nohalā were in the vicinity of Bilhari and the site even now has ample ruins of Kalacuri times. For some such relics at Bilhari, cf. Misra (1987b): 42; 87-89.

[75] Mirashi (1955): 221, vv. 58, 82.

[76] *Ibid*, p. 221, v. 57. It refers to the monastery of holy Vaidyanātha. The Maihar temple of Kalacuri times is locally known as Golāmaṭha. It probably is the surviving member of a larger monastic complex, now extinct, that once contained both a *maṭha* and a temple. Today, the temple stands while the *maṭha* remains etched only in public memory. Cf., Misra (1987b): 45-46.

[77] Pathak (1960): 35.

[78] Praśāntaśiva succeeded Prabhāvaśiva at the *golakī* of Gurgi and built a temple at the site. Cf. Mirashi (1955): 231, vv. 8-11.

Despite these migrations, the glory of Madhumatī, founded by Pavanaśiva, seems to have remained unquestioned as the 'habitat of the Siddhāntika *ācāryas*.[79] Initially inaugurated in the Gopācala region, the scions of the line continued moving over to Ḍāhala to settle down at Gurgi,[80] Bilhari,[81] Chandrehe[82] and Tripurī[83] in the tenth century between 915 CE and 1174-75 CE, from the time of Yuvarājadeva I (915 CE) to Jayasiṃha (1163-88). In the exodus of ascetics from Gopācala to Ḍāhala, Cūḍāśiva of Madhumatī and his disciples figure prominently. Of these disciples, Hṛdayaśiva[84] and Prabhāvaśiva[85] moved over to Ḍāhala between 915-970 CE. Their disciples continued the trend, incorporating Tripuri in this diaspora. There was nothing novel in such allocations. Even before Cūḍāśiva, Purandara-*mattamayūranātha* had established his disciple Kavacaśiva at Aranipadra while his other successors continued at Mattamayūrapura.

TRIPURĪ

The diaspora of Siddhānta ascetics of Madhumatī did not stop at Golagnika or other locations and the successors of Īśvaraśiva and Prabhāvaśiva are found settling down in strength in the Vindhyan territory around Rewa, Satna and Jabalpur at Gurgi (Golagnika *maṭha*), Bilhari, Maihar, Chandrehe, Chunari and at Tripurī, the capital of the Kalacuris of Ḍāhala. Information about ascetics at most of these monasteries, excepting those at Tripurī, is either missing or is laconic and scanty. The (*golakī*) *maṭha* of Tripurī flourished with the descendants of Prabhāvaśiva (same as Sadbhāvaśambhu of Malkapuram inscription). The identity of these ascetics with the *golakīvaṃśa* is affirmed in the Malkapuram record.[86] This *golakī vaṃśa* seems to have been an offshoot of the line of the Golagnika (same as *golakī*) *maṭha* of Gurgi (near Rewa), which Prabhāvaśiva (Sadbhāvaśiva) had sanctified. The *golakī* of Tripurī (or in its vicinity) seems to have flourished 'in course of time' (*tadanvaye śiṣyaparamparāyaḥ kramāddhi*

---

79. Gurgi Stone Inscription, in Mirashi (1955): 227, v. 3.
80. *Ibid.*, pp. 231-232, vv.5-20.
81. Mirashi (1955): 220, vv. 43-44 read with v.58 that refers to the Nauhaleśvara *maṭha*: *svīkṛtyāpi munirbhūyo maṭhaṃ śrī Nohaleśvaraṃ/ Aghoraśiva śiṣyasya sādhuvṛttasya dattavān*. Obviously, Nohalā built a temple, mentioned as *kīrti*, and also a *maṭha*, as had become the practice.
82. Chandrehe Stone Inscription, Mirashi (1955): 200-201, vv. 4-17.
83. See below, in the section on Tripurī.
84. Mirashi (1955): 220-221.
85. *Ibid*, p. 202, vv.4-5.
86. For the term *golakī vaṃśa*, cf. Sircar (1983): 580, v.26; 586, v. 69.

vaṃśaḥ) with its 'lineage of sages in succession'. It must have come up after Prabhāvaśiva's disciple Somaśambhu in the tenth century though its specific mention is found not before the Jabalpur Stone Inscription of Jayasiṃha (1174-75 CE). This record refers to Vimalaśiva I who had 'installed a disciple in his own place' (*śiṣyam Vimalaśivābhidhamādhāyāsau pade svīye*).[87] The reference to his 'place' or 'office' (*pade svīye*), would suggest the existence of a monastery in Tripurī (or its vicinity), where such investiture would have taken place. The *maṭhas* of Pāśupata Śaivas somewhere near Bheraghat-Tripurī find mention in a later inscription from Bheraghat,[88] but a Siddhānta *maṭha* seems to have already been there, possibly during or after Prabhāvaśiva's disciple Somaśambhu or the latter's successor Vāmaśambhu who was deeply revered by the second Yuvarājadeva.[89]

The Jabalpur Stone Inscription of Jayasiṃha[90] and Rewa Copper Plates of Trailokyamalla[91] provide a synoptic detail about the ascetics who settled at Tripurī, apparently in a *maṭha* that has disappeared now. The Jabalpur Stone inscription describes the order of succession of the Śaiva *ācāryas* as follows: Vimalaśiva I, Vāstuśiva, [Rudra]Śiva,[92] Puruṣaśiva, Śaktiśiva, Kīrtiśiva, and Vimalaśiva II. To this list, the Dhureti plates add the names of Śantaśiva and Nādaśiva, the sons of Vimalaśiva II. The Kākatīya inscription from Malkapuram[93] also provides a partly similar list of the Śaiva *ācāryas* in succession in the *golakī maṭha* of the Ḍāhala region.[94] By conciliating the lists of ascetics in the Jabalpur and Malkapuram records, the line of Tripurī ascetics descending from Sadbhāvaśambhu (Prabhāvaśiva of Gurgi), may be restored as follows–Somaśambhu, Vāmaśambhu, Vimalaśiva I, Vāstuśiva, Rudraśiva, Puruṣaśiva, Śaktiśiva, Kīrtiśiva, Vimalaśiva II and Viśveśvaraśambhu.[95] After Vimalaśiva II of the Tripurī *maṭha*, two of his disciples—Sāntaśiva and Nādaśiva of Dhureti plates—continued for sometime in Ḍāhala, while his other disciple Viśveśvaraśambhu, went to Malkapuram in Andhra Pradesh and established the Viśveśvara *golakī maṭha* there in 1261 CE. There is no information available about the Tripurī branch after Sāntaśiva of the Dhureti plates (dated in 1212 CE).

---

[87] Mirashi (1955): 334, vv. 6, 8. This Siddhānta *maṭha* has disappeared now, but its presence is categorically vouched for by a reference to it as a *pada* (monastic seat, office) and its string of ascetics.

[88] *Infra*, p. 146.

[89] Cf. Pathak (1960): 46-50.

[90] Mirashi (1955): 334, vv. 8-22, 34-45.

[91] *Ibid*, pp.371-373.

[92] Cf. Pathak (1960): 49, 50; also Shastri, A. M., (2007): 153.

[93] Sircar (1983): 580-582, vv. 24-35 ff. This inscription records succession of ascetics as follows: Sadbhāvaśambhu, Somaśambhu, Vāmaśambhu, Śaktīśambhu, Kīrtiśambhu, Vimalaśiva, Dharmaśiva and Viśveśvaraśambhu.

[94] The allusion here might be to the *golakī maṭha* of Tripurī named after the *golagnika* line (at Gurgi) whence it originated. The use of the term *golakī vaṃśa* (Sircar 1983: 586, v. 70) apart from *golakī maṭha* (Sircar 1983: 580, v. 26) in the Malkapuram inscription may indicate that *golakī* had come to generically denote a lineage qualifying *inter alia* the Mattamayūra ascetics of Madhumatī at Gurgi, an offshoot of sages descending from Kadambaguhā line.

[95] Shastri, Ajay Mitra (2007): 155. Shastri points out that three *munis* "preceding Dharmaśiva and Viśveśvaraśambhu of Malkapuram record are identical with the last three pontiffs named in the Jabalpur stone inscription...". While the "...Jabalpur epigraph is reticent about the first three

In conclusion, it may be assumed that whether in permanent residence at their particular *maṭha*s or in the act of moving out to other locations from their parent branch, the *munis* of Kadambaguhā, Araṇipadra, Āmardaka, Madhumatī, Golagnika (at Gurgi) and Tripurī constituted a common pool with their Mattamayūra ancestry. The ascetics did not remain confined to the Gopācala region alone; those of Āmardaka branch moved to Dakṣiṇa Kosala in early eighth century. By the early tenth century they had started spreading out from Gopācala to the Ḍāhala region in the Son and Narmada valleys, with new monastic centres coming up at Chunari, Gurgi, Bilhari, Maihar, Chandrehe, Tripurī and Kodal. Among these centres, the *maṭha*s at Chunari, Chandrehe and Kodal still survive in different states of preservation.

The *muni*s of the Madhumatī branch figure prominently in being invited to new monasteries built in quick succession in the Cedi-Ḍāhala region. Even so, their pre-established monastic strongholds continued to remain active while their diaspora perpetuated and strengthened their network and expanded their reach to new, virgin tracts. Notwithstanding their truncated and sometimes laconic narrative, the relevant epigraphs glowingly describe successive ascetics of some of these different centres and their control over the woodlands where their *maṭha*s abounded, as also their activities involving piety and power, specially the power that they not only assumed but also wielded effectively. Saddled between two driving forces in the contemporary polity—the *āṭavika*s in the *aṭavī*s (woodlands) and the potentates outside—they grew to mediate and direct the course of events with aplomb, deploying piety for acquiring legitimacy and legitimacy for actions, including the exercise of administrative functions and armed actions that attest to their use of such power.[96]

It must, however, be stressed that recognition came to Siddhānta ascetics slowly and gradually, thanks initially to their life of self discipline, frugal ways, spiritual pursuits and non-intrusive disposition towards the otherwise insuperable woodland community of *āṭavika*s who seem to have acquiesced to their non-aggressive presence in the woodlands and found

---

*ācārya*s (Sadbhāvaśambhu, Somaśambhu and Vāmaśambhu) ...the Malkapuram record does not name Vimalaśiva I, Vāstuśiva...Śiva and Puruṣaśiva". The latter record however seems to indicate some interval between Vāmaśambhu and Śaktiśambhu, and Pathak (1960: 49) places four pontiffs e.g., Vimalaśiva, Vāstuśiva, Rudraśiva and Puruṣaśiva of the Jabalpur record after Vāmaśambhu of Malkapuram inscription. In agreement with Pathak, Shastri (2007: 154) places these four *gurus* between Vāmadeva and Śaktiśiva.

[96] Explicit references to such actions are in evidence from the last quarter of the ninth century onwards, in the instances of Dharmaśiva at Kadwaha and Īśānaśiva, Prabodhaśiva, Kīrtiśiva, Nādaśiva etc., at Chandrehe and Tripurī, between the ninth and thirteenth centuries. See, *infra*, pp. 67 ff.

succour in their generosity. The ascetics seem to have tasted power as they came to carve out their exclusive spaces in the *tapovanas*[97] and became the *sthānapati*s, 'lords', of those locations. This became possible in absence of royal authority in the hinterlands populated by the *āṭavikas*. These *āṭavika*s remained in allegiance to the *muni*s and benefitted continually from their benevolence. The spiritual encounter of Purandara with Avantivarma (8th century) serves as a landmark in the *muni*s' rise to supremacy. After this, there seems to have been no holding back in the ambitions of the ascetics, who in close concert with each other, started carving out an empire, as it were, with a network of stone-built, palatial, even fortified monasteries fully endowed with resources that could pale the rulers into insignificance. Such a claim is explicitly made without mincing words when an ascetic equates himself with rulers: *mahībhṛtāṃ iva*.[98] Their predominance in piety or in power is in evidence everywhere, whether in Gopācala or in Ḍāhala region. The details follow, beginning first with ascetics' engagements with piety and then in power.

ASCETICS AND PIETY

Securely ensconced in their well-endowed monasteries, the ascetics performed and promulgated theistic practices and propagated the Śaiva Āgamas and theology. They were also venerated for their meditational pursuits, celibacy, ascetic values and practices and moral rigour, as they lived their lives steeped in self-discipline. Their pursuits immersed in piety are well reflected in their reclusive life given to penance, yogic practices and learning, with indulgence in spiritual discourses and charity. These pursuits seem to have sparkled as they imbibed heterodox and orthodox philosophical systems,[99] composed highly regarded erudite works[100] dispelling the 'darkness of ignorance'.[101] Claiming a 'pure vision of the entire *śāstra*' (*akhila śāstra nirmala matiḥ*) they disseminated Siddhānta theology,[102] pored over the Śaiva

---

[97] Such a *tapovana* is mentioned in the Chandrehe inscription. The hermitage here stood amidst woods of *priyāla* (*Buchnania Latifolia*) trees on the foot of Bhramara hills near the Son River. In the *tapovana* "animals forget their natural antipathy (to other animals) and the minds of all become tranquil." Mirashi (1955): 200, v. 7. The Araṇipadra hermitage was similarly ensconced in the *tapovana*, *E.I.*, 1, p. 355, v.15. The woodlands (*vanas*) of the Vindhyas which became the *tapovanas* of ascetics, figure as *aṭavīs*, the habitat of the *āṭavika*s, in the *Harṣacarita*. They were apparently being shared by the ascetics and *āṭavikas* together.

[98] Mirashi (1955): 338, v.28.

[99] *E.I.*, 1, p.358, vv. 35-39. Vyomaśiva is described as Maheśa in Siddhānta, Akṣapāda Gautama in Nyāya, Kaṇāda in Vaiśeṣika, Jaiminī in Mimāṃsā, Kapila in Sāṅkhya, Bṛhaspati in Lokāyata, Buddha in Buddhism and Jinendra in Jaina Āgamas. Also *infra*, p. 62 about Praśāntaśiva.

[100] Cf. Pathak (1960: 39) quoting Mirashi, *Indian Historical Quarterly* (1950), p. 16. Vyomaśiva is said to have explained the 'real nature of *padārtha*', a category of the Vaiśeṣika system.

[101] Chandrehe inscription in Mirashi (1955): 202, v.4.

[102] *E.I.* 1, p.356, v. 20. Purandara's teachings were 'irrefutable' and 'sparkled like the rays of eastern mountains'. Cf., *E.I.*, 1, p. 355, vv. 10-11. What the 'eastern mountain' may denote is not clear.

Āgamas,[103] initiated the uninitiated into their fold by offering *dīkṣā*,[104] and built temples[105] adorning them with statuary that suited the conventional as well as *āṭavika* sensibilities. They also tended the community, alleviated people's misery, taking care of their requirements of subsistence and health. With these activities progressively institutionalised in their monastic centres, they seem to have integrated the woodland community—the *āṭavikas* or *prāṇi-prajā* in other words—and earned its allegiance. Thus, power seems to have descended upon them through piety and conciliation.

Their concern for the community and the latter's allegiance in their favour seems to consistently surface in epigraphs in various ways. Purandara is described in the Kadwaha Fragmentary Inscription as one who 'alleviated peoples' suffering'.[106] Vyomaśiva of Araṇipadra stood for liberating people from calamities: *uddhvartuṃ vipadi prajā*.[107] He was 'worthy of respect by people' (*sakala loka namasya mūrtiḥ*). Compassionate to the core, he was dedicated to the welfare of all others: *yasyodṛkta paropakāra karuṇā mātraṃ pravṛtteḥ phalaḥ*.[108] No wonder, when he rebuilt the Araṇipadra *āśrama* of the recluses (*yatis*) that had gone derelict in time (*andhatamase bhagnaṃ*), the participation of the local community (*paurasahitaṃ*) was not missing in its renovation.[109] Kavacaśiva of Araṇipadra was *lokapriya*, 'loved by people', not being one of those who would avidly chase their self-serving 'thirst' (*tṛṣṇā*) essentially for 'filling their belly' (*svodarapūrtimātra*). Bhuvanāśraya *pandita*, an ascetic at Kadambaguhā was 'giver of refuge to three worlds'.[110] Prabodhaśiva was revered by people: *nikhila jana vandyaḥ*.[111] The Chandrehe inscription[112] describes his works in the woodlands, including digging a 'sea-like lake' (*sindhuprakhyaṃ taḍāgaṃ*, v. 16) and a 'well having copious water' (*pracura salilaṃ kūpa*). By the process of excavating, breaking and ramming large heaps of stones he constructed pathways through mountains and across the rivers and streams, and also through forests and

---

103. Chandrehe inscription, Mirashi (1955): 200, v.11: *vicārya nikhilāgamān vidhi samādhi buddheśvaraḥ*. This qualifies Prabodhaśiva. Rudraśambhu is similarly described as adept in Śaivāgamas: *śaivāgam-ambunidhi pāramitas-tapobhiḥ*. *Ibid*, p. 213, v. 50.
104. *E.I.* 1, p. 355, v, 13; *E.I.* 37, p. 124, v.29.
105. Mirashi (1955): 203, v.16. Reference here is to a *maṭha* built by Prabodhaśiva near a temple erected by his *guru* Praśāntaśiva. Cf., also, *E.I.*, 1, p.359, v. 44, which refers to temple built by Vyomaśiva near the *maṭha* of Araṇipadra.
106. *E.I.*, 37, p.122, v.5: *yattanubhṛtām paritāpa śāntau...*
107. *E.I.*.1, p. 356, v. 23.
108. *Ibid*. He was a storehouse of qualities of head and heart in being endowed with self-restraint, humility, prudence in polity (*naya*), propitious intent (*puṇya*) and spotless character. *Ibid.*, p. 357, v. 26.
109. *E.I.*, 1, p. 357, v. 29: *...sarvānanddyudayena paurasahitaṃnītaṃ punastāḥ śriyaḥ*. Vyomaśiva's habitat made the locals (*prāṇinaḥ*) 'blessed'. *Ibid.*, v. 31.
110. *E. I.* 37, p.123, v. 11. The term used is '*trilokavijayī*'.
111. Chandrehe inscription, Mirashi (1955): 201, v. 12.
112. *Ibid.*

thickets (v.13), planted medicinal plants around the monastery. The glowing phosphorescence of these plants aroused wonder in the people (v. 14). Yet another ascetic of Kadambaguhā is described as succour to the people (...*tāpaharaḥ prajānāṃ*).[113] The Jabalpur Stone Inscription of Jayasiṃha[114] describes the proclivities of Siddhānta ascetics for public good. Vāstuśiva 'caused great bliss' (*śreyaḥ prakarṣaṃ paramādadhānaḥ*, v. 10). Nādaśiva was known for his 'support to all creatures' (*sarvabhūta dayāparaḥ* and *jantūnāṃ āśvāsabhūmiḥ*) even as he was 'intent upon showing kindness to all creatures' (*sarveṣāṃvandijanānāṃ ādhārabhūtaḥ*).[115]

The acceptance of ascetics by the woodland communities initially came perhaps because of their simple life of negation reinforced by self-discipline in which meditation, austerities and penance were cornerstones. In that, they appear to have stood singularly apart from all others, including potentates and princes, who would either chastise woodland communities or harness them to serve their ends. Ascetics were patently different from these in their disposition and practices, which consistently find mention in inscriptions mentioned above. In pursuance of the Siddhānta Vaiśeṣika philosophy, ascetics believed that 'sacred knowledge and due discrimination depended on devotion to Śiva';[116] that 'austerities destroyed the darkness of ignorance and set a person on the path of *nirvāṇa*'[117] which could be obtained by *bhaktiyoga*;[118] that 'salvation came as a downpour of nectar in the form of bliss that could only be experienced;[119] and that the Āgamas should be regarded as authoritative works because *śabda* (verbal testimony) was the independent source of valid knowledge'.[120]

Ascetics were consistently given to a life of penance. For instance, Vyomaśiva is described as *taptaiḥ tapobhiḥ*; Āmardakatīrthanātha was similarly steeped in penance—...*bhūritapastapo'pi*.[121] The Chandrehe record[122] (v. 4) describes Purandara as 'adept in performance of austerities' (*kṛtatapā*) and Prabodhaśiva as 'practising austerities even in boyhood on the banks of the river (Son) imitating his spiritual preceptor' (*gurujanānukāri tapaścarañjagati vismayaṃ vyadhita bālabhāvepi yaḥ*, v.11), living on *priyāla*, *āmalaka*, greens and *śālūka*. His *guru* Praśāntaśiva, the builder of a 'popularly known' (*janairviditaṃ*) hermitage in the woodlands of Son valley, is said to have lived on fruits, lotus stalks and roots (v. 7). Purandara-*mādhumateya*'s subsistence on 'fruits and roots' (*phalamūla vṛtti*) finds mention, and austerities and radiance are said to have found abode together in his personage (*tapānsi tejānsi ca yatra vāsam ananya saṅkrānti guṇena cakraḥ*, Bilhari record, v.52).[123] Śikhāśiva, 'like fire...refulgent with lustre of austerities', stood like a lamp on the path of final beatitude (*śikhisamo bibhrat tapas tejasa...*, Chandrehe record, v. 4). Dharmaśambhu of Kadwaha is said to have 'crossed the ocean of Śaiva faith by his austerities' (*Śaivāgama ambunidhipāramitastapobhiḥ*, Bilhari record, v.50). His disciple Sadāśiva was a 'treasure of austerities' (*taporāśi*).

---

[113] *E.I.*, 37, p.124, v.28.

[114] Mirashi (1955): 333-336; translation, pp. 336-339.

[115] Mirashi (1955): 372: Dhureti Plates: lines 16-17.

[116] *Ibid.* p. 214-215, v. 75.

[117] *Ibid*, p. 200, v. 4. It refers to the path of *nirvāṇa* to which Śikhāśiva was like a lamp. He is said to have extinguished *karma* to attain liberation. Mirashi (1955): 213.

[118] *Ibid*, p. 215, v. 76.

[119] *Ibid.*

[120] Pathak (1960): 40-45.

[121] *E.I.*, 1, vv. 22; 9.

[122] Mirashi (1955): 201-204.

Meditation was supposed to be an essential part of austerity. Seated in a solitary place, Praśāntaśiva is said to have 'mastered all the *āsanas*', contemplated and 'felt the inner joy with his steady mind absorbed in the meditation of Śiva seated in the midst of lotus of the heart'. He passed his days in company of meritorious persons accomplished in philosophical pursuits.[124] The ascetics' minds were 'restrained by vows' (*vrata, niyama, manovṛtti*) and they taught the 'great and flawless doctrine of Śiva' to their disciples. They were devoted to 'right knowledge' which was capable of destroying the multitudes of 'bonds of worldly existence'.[125] In substance, the austerities seem to have reference to yogic regimens that included practice of self-restraint (*yama*), observance (*niyama*), study of sacred texts (*svādhyāya*), performance of rituals (*anuṣṭhāna*), with *tapa* being its essential part. These practises figure in reference to Śāntaśiva.[126] His brother Nādaśiva was known for his self-restraint apart from his other virtues including practice of self discipline (*yamādi guṇopetaḥ samasta prakriyānvitaḥ*), bathing three times a day (*trikālasnāna*), adoring gods (*devārcanarata*) and worshipping fire (*agnipūjārata*). So was Vyomaśiva, who meditated upon Śiva three times each day.[127] The ascetics of Madhumatī, 'noble in conduct', performed sacrificial rituals. They kindled sacrificial fires and peacocks, who mistook the rising smoke for untimely clouds, danced with joy at the sight.[128] The Budhi Chanderi Inscription of VS 1100 likewise describes Prabodhaśiva as given to intense penance (*ugratapa*, v. 6) which included worship, self-restraint, chanting, and sacrificial offerings (*pūjā'pi-japa-saṃyam-vahnikarma*).[129] The Chandrehe inscription (v.10-11) describes the other Prabodhaśiva too as 'making offerings ...to the high flames of fire'.

Ascetics are described as the 'store of all learning' (*vidyānidhi*) and 'proficient in all lore' (*sarva vidyā kuśalaḥ*)[130] and they enjoyed unsullied reputations: *amalakānta kīrti*. Reading the scriptures was an essential part of the ascetics' monastic life. Prabodhaśiva engaged himself deeply in it. He 'contemplated the Āgamas', 'performed religious austerities' and 'realized God' by performing 'religious austerities and meditation', which were 'his duties to God'.[131] Their quest to apprehend 'reality' (*tattva*) made them venerable; in that, some of them 'stood like a lamp on the path of *nirvāṇa*', 'the final beatitude'.[132] The quest for *nirvāṇa* figures in the Senkapat inscription too.[133] Cūḍāśiva aspired for the 'final liberation', which could be achieved by annihilation of the taints of previous birth (*karmajālamalaṃ yena nītamastaṃ mumukṣaṇā*.[134] Hṛdayaśiva was an 'abode of all lore, wise and true to his vows' (*vidyānāṃ nilayen yen sudhiyā satyavratenādhikaṃ*), one who by his renunciation (*vairāgya*) had overcome passion (*smara*).[135] Aghoraśiva is described as one 'sometimes living on alms, sometimes on vegetables and sometimes subsisting on bulbous roots, seeking the supreme delight of Śiva. Free from the intense darkness of passion, he had never to suffer from virulent passions of sensual enjoyment'.[136] Austerities (*tapa*) and learning (*vidyābala*) went together in Praśāntaśiva whose objective lay in 'final emancipation' (*niśreyas ākāṅkṣayā*).[137] His fame, spurred by the 'sprinkling of his learning' (*jñānāmbu*), was proverbial: it grew like the 'wish-fulfilling tree' filling the 'cavity of the vase-like universe': *yasya yaśomayaḥsa vavṛdhe kālena kalpodrumo yena vyāptamidaṃ prasahya sakalaṃ brahmāṇḍa bhāṇḍodaraṃ*.[138]

---

[123] *Ibid*, pp. 215-224.

[124] Mirashi (1955): p.228, v. 15.

[125] *Ibid*. p. 227, vv. 4, 18.

[126] Mirashi (1955): 373.

[127] *E.I*, 1, p.358, v.34: *yasya ārādhayat trisandhyamadhuta dhyānasthite dhūrjaṭim.*

[128] Mirashi (1955): 231, v. 3.

[129] Jain and Trivedi, (1976): 89-90, vv. 6, 9. Vyomaśiva was known for practicing rituals (*anuṣṭhāna, vrata*). Cf., *E.I.*, 1, p.357, v.25

[130] Mirashi (1955): 232, v. 19; 372. Śāntaśiva was the 'crest jewel in the assembly of learned people'. Nohalā is said to have made village grant to Īśvaraśiva as a reward for his scholarship: *dattau*

Celibacy was an essential feature of their ascetic life and this is emphasised time and again in records. Prabodhaśiva is described as the 'enemy of passion' (*madanadviṣaḥ*) who 'avoided the company of women'. In that, he emulated other ascetics including his *guru* Praśāntaśiva. The Ranod inscription speaks of similar ways of other ascetics too, e.g., Terambipāla, who was a 'destroyer of Kāma like Pramathanātha-Śiva' or Kavacaśiva who was 'beyond the prick of the arrow of Kāma'. Vyomaśiva is described as *indriya nigrahī*, one who had 'conquered the senses'; Aghoraśiva was known for being 'free from passion': *vicinvanto yāto viṣayavegasya kalanām*, just as Hṛdayaśiva 'vanquished the god of love by freedom from passion.'[139]

---

vidyādhanatvena. *Ibid*, p.212, v. 44. Cūḍāśiva's 'white fame' had risen from the perfection of knowledge through meditation. *Ibid*, p. 231, v. 5.

[131] Mirashi (1955): 200: (Chandrehe inscription), vv.10-11. Dharmaśambhu is similarly described as the ocean of Śaiva Āgamas (*śaivāgama ambunidhi*) in the Bilhari inscription. *Ibid*. p. 213. He is said to have attained this eminence thanks to his knowledge of Āgamas, which he attained through austerities. *Ibid*. Hṛdayaśiva was a 'mine of all virtues: *sakala guṇānāṃākara*'. *Ibid*, p. 213, v.54-55.

[132] *Ibid*, p. 213, v. 49.

[133] *E.I.*, 31, p. 36, v. 23: *nirvāṇadakṣadīkṣāyā vyākhyāyāḥ samayasya ca*.

[134] Mirashi (1955): 213, v. 53.

[135] *Ibid*, v. 55.

[136] Mirashi (1955): 215, v. 83.

[137] *Ibid*, p. 228, (Gurgi inscription), vv. 8-9.

[138] *Ibid*, p. 228, v. 10.

[139] For these citations, cf, Mirashi (1955): 202; v.9; 213, v. 55; 215, v. 83; and *E.I.*, 1, pp. 355-358, vv.9, 16, 20, 33.

It seems that after Kīrtiśiva, his disciple Vimalaśiva II in the Ḍāhala region broke the vow of celibacy and had his sons (*suta*) Nādaśiva and Śāntaśiva, the two brothers (*Śāntaśiva anujo Nādaśiva*), in command of their *maṭha*. The transformation of these Śaivite *gurus* into householders seems to have adversely affected their fortunes and we find the two brothers losing their affluence. In 1212 CE, they are found mortgaging their assets—a village named Alaura together with all dues, such as *bhāga*, *bhoga* and taxes on *pravaṇi* and payment of gold—to *rāṇaka* Dhāreka through a mortgage deed (*vittabandha*): *bhaṭṭāraka śrīmad rājaguru Vimalaśiva sutaḥ Śāntaśiva ...vatsa gotrānvaye vittabandhaḥ*. The Dhureti Plates record that through this deed Śantaśiva 'had conveyed ...the whole income of the *paṭṭa*' (i.e. village Alaura) to the *rāṇaka* and agreed that 'in doing or desisting from doing anything, the wish of illustrious Dhāreka was to be followed.[140]

The Siddhānta ascetics populated the *maṭhas* but some of them were given to a life of wandering (*yāyāvarāṇām'api*) too.[141] While carrying out activities of different kinds, the presiding *ācārya* in the *maṭhas* also performed *dīkṣā* rituals for laymen[142] and in doing so the *ācārya* was supposed to mediate for the divine agency that was Śiva.[143] We have the explicit instance of Vimalaśiva II being initiated into the faith by Kīrtiśiva, as Ugra did to Upamanyu of yore.[144] It may be assumed that the privilege of conducting initiation was reserved only for a consecrated *ācārya* of the lineage (*golakīvaṃśyakṛtābhiṣekaḥ*)[145] who otherwise also had the authority to designate and install another *muni* as the chief of a monastery.[146] Pilgrimage to holy places was also a part of the religious practice of the Śaivite ascetics. In the Jabalpur Stone inscription of Jayasiṃha his royal preceptor Vimalaśiva II is described as 'having paid his debt to the best of gods and others at Prabhāsa, Gokarṇa, Gayā and other places'. He received initiation in the Siddhānta from Kīrtiśiva in whose honour he later built a temple.[147]

---

[140] Cf., Mirashi (1955): 374-375. The evidence seems to indicate that fortunes of the *maṭhas* and the Siddhānta *gurus* phenomenally declined as the incumbents of the *maṭhas* turned from celibate ascetics to householders. Śāntaśiva was the last of the Siddhānta *gurus* heard of in the Ḍāhala region, though the line continued being referred to elsewhere in the inscriptions; in the Malkapuram inscription from Andhra, for instance.

[141] Mirashi (1955): 335, v. 28.

[142] Cf., *E.I.*, 31, p.36, v.23, where the Senkapat inscription refers to *dīkṣā* besides other activities of the *maṭha*.

[143] *Kurute pāśaviśleṣam tathācārya Śivadhvaraiḥ*, *Sarvajñānottara*, v.1:8, quoted in the *Varuṇapaddhati*, p.33, and p. 32, fn.13.

[144] Mirashi (1955): 338, v.33. *Dīkṣā* is the enabling process for spiritual attainment (*dīkṣāyāḥ param puruṣārtha hetutvāt...*). Its different procedures relate to the *kriyāpāda* of the Śaiva Āgamas. Cf. *Sarvadarsana Samgraha*, p. 276. It is defined as an act by which 'the innate Śivahood is manifested along with the destruction of three types of bondage': *sapāśatraya viśleṣaṃ Śivatvaṃ vyajyate yayā/kriyā sā kathyate dīkṣā*. It is characterized by devotion to Śiva and non-attachment towards worldly enjoyment (*bhaktivairāgya lakṣaṇā*). *Varuṇa Paddhati*, 2, 3.

[145] Sircar (1983): 586, v.69-73.

[146] Mirashi (1955):221, vv. 57-58, which refers to transfer of title of a *maṭha* from one *ācārya* to the other.

The ascetics' erudition was legendary; it was not limited merely to discourses (*vyākhyāna*) or interpretation of regulations (*samaya*) which find mention in the Senkapat inscription, but included composing works of great merit some of which came to be highly regarded. We have the *Vyomavatī-Ṭikā* by Vyomaśiva on the *Praśastapāda bhāṣya* which is rated high for its philosophical content and is quoted by Rājaśekhara, Guṇaratna, Vardhamāna and also by Udayana in his *Kiraṇāvali*. Other sages elsewhere composed the texts like *Prāyaścitta Samuccaya*, *Naimittika Kriyā Anusandhāna* and *Soma-Śambhu-Paddhati*).[148] Vyomaśiva's expertise in philosophical systems like Siddhānta, Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika, Mimāṃsā, Sāṅkhya, Lokāyata, Buddhism and Jainism was exemplary but his intolerant streak also seems to surface in the claims that he silenced the Buddhists and the Jain '*jambūkas*' even as the Mīmāṃsakas were scattered by his lion-like roar.[149] Some of the ascetics were not averse to the philosophical systems other than their own and were capable of consorting with persons knowledgeable in other ways. Praśāntaśiva is said to have spent his 'days in company of meritorious persons who were adept in the *pañcārthika* philosophy of the Pāśupata Śaivas and were capable of examining (other systems).'[150] Such erudition, catholicity and other virtues are typical of the Siddhānta ascetics who, as a class, are said to have unexceptionally excelled in these qualities. Yet, among them, Purandara,[151] Prabhāvaśiva,[152]Praśāntaśiva,[153] Vyomaśiva,[154] Prabodhaśiva[155] and Vimalaśiva II,[156] in particular, seem to stand out eminently, whether in austerities, self-discipline, spiritual merit and knowledge, or in distributing largesse, supporting building activities including raising of temples and monasteries and sometimes even in resorting to political interventions that compromised the potentates' hegemonic position. The Vindhyan potentates do not seem to match these spiritual *gurus* whether in influence or in power over the populace. The inscriptions do not fail to notice this appropriation of political supremacy

---

147. Mirashi (1955): 338-339, vv. 33, 45-46.
148. Pathak (1960): 39-40.
149. *E.I.* 1, p. 358, vv. 36, 39. The excerpt is indicative of his intolerant streak too.
150. Mirashi (1955): 232, v.15. The *pañcārtha*, 'five categories', consisted of 'effect' (*kārya*), 'cause' (*kāraṇa*), 'religious practices' (*vidhi*), '*yoga*' and 'cessation of miseries' (*duḥkhānta*). They were propounded by Lakulīśa in the *Pāśupata Sūtras*. Their proximity with the Siddhānta ascetics may point to some bonding of the Lakulīśa Pāśupata sect with Siddhānta Śaivism. Lakulīśa is often seen delineated in the statuary of the Siddhānta temples. For details of *Pañcārthika* philosophy, cf., Pathak 1960: 14-17.
151. *E.I.* 1, p. 355, vv. 10-15.
152. Mirashi (1955): 200, v. 5. 227-228, vv. 6-7.
153. *Ibid*, p. 200, vv. 8-16.
154. *E.I.*, 1, p. 356-359, vv. 22-44.
155. Mirashi (1955): 200-201, vv. 9-17; 229, vv.20-25
156. *Ibid.*, p. 335-336, vv. 27-45.

where rulers bowed down to Siddhāntika *gurus*, voluntarily seeking their patronage as the latter stood supreme in their glory.

The ascetics extensively practiced charity. It is said of Prabhāvaśiva that at his bidding, the goddess of fortune was ever prepared to benefit others.[157] Īśānaśambhu 'removed the misery of poverty' (*daurggatya duḥkha cchiddā*).[158] Prabodhaśiva was a 'storehouse of charity.'[159] According to the Jabalpur Stone Inscription of Jayasiṃha,[160] Rudraśiva's wealth was for the good of others (*dhanānāṃ ca paropakṛtaye*, v.12); Vimalaśiva II was the veritable 'Wish-fulfilling Tree of the Kali age' (v.34): we are told that that "there is no gift which he has not conferred, no deserving person whom he has not honoured many times" (v. 41).

ASCETICS AND ECONOMIC RESOURCES

Ascetics could easily afford charity, as their wealth was proverbial.[161] Huge grants came to them in their retreats not only in central India but elsewhere too.[162] Gold and jewels formed an important part of a *maṭhas*' treasure according to the Ranod inscription, and the Senkapat inscription confirms the wealth of a *maṭha* in that it forbids proffering loans on interest: *vṛddhyartham artham asṛjadbhiḥ*.[163] The Chandrehe and Kodal monasteries contain hidden vaults for storing wealth.[164] The Kalacuri inscriptions indicate that by the time of Yuvarājadeva I and his successors, the ascetics had run into affluence with substantial grants made to them. Some of these grants were confirmed by Kokalladeva.[165] Further gains came to Vāmaśambhu through Yuvarājadeva II.[166] A Kākatiya record confirms such devolution to *munis* when it says that Yuvarājadeva made a gift of 'three hundred thousand villages' to his *guru* (*grāmāṇām Yuvarājadevanṛpatir bhikṣāṃ trilakṣīṃ dadau*).[167] The number of villages mentioned as grant'[168] may not be literally true but it certainly suggests that ascetics were now becoming eminently prosperous and resourceful. Between the time of Śankaragaṇa I (*c.* 750 CE) and Kokalladeva II (*c.* 990-1015 CE), the ascetics had received from the Kalacuri rulers and others a field, *khalabhikṣā* (cess at the threshing floors) and granaries. The queen Nohalā made a grant of two villages to Hṛdayaśiva.[169] The grants increased exponentially with Yuvarājadeva I. The Gurgi Stone Inscription confirms this in favour of Prabhāvaśiva and his *golagnika maṭha*

---

[157] Gurgi inscription, Mirashi (1955): 228, v. 9.

[158] *Ibid*, p. 228, v. 18.

[159] *Ibid*. p. 229, v.21, translation, p. 232.

[160] Mirashi (1955): 333-336.

[161] The abundant privileges of the Siddhānta *ācāryas* were not limited to central India alone. The Kharepatan Plates of Raṭṭarāja from Maharashtra refer to a Mattamayūra *ācārya* Ambojaśiva and his devoted disciple Atreya entrusted with the temple of Śiva-Avveśvara and its property. The grants for the purpose consisted of (1) three villages, (2) three other properties (e.g., *jīvaloka*, *cakantara* and *juhaka*),(3) a *gaḍiyāna* (gold coin) from every vessel arriving from foreign land, (4) *adharana* (a measure) of gold for every ship arriving from Kandamūlīya except Cemūlya and Candrapura, (5) families of female attendants, a family of oilmen, gardeners, potters and washer men, (6) a *jagatīpura* inside the fort, and (7) a piece of land, formerly known as "the mare's ground" (*vaḍvābhuvaṃ*), to serve as a garden (*E.I.*, 3, pp. 300-01). It is a unique case where Atreya, the disciple, is entrusted with the responsibilities and the *ācārya* is spared of these, which might indicate a distinction between temporal and administrative roles without compromising the status of *ācārya*. Atreya was ordained by the royal grant to take care of (1) worshipping Śiva 'with fivefold offerings,' (2) keeping the shrine in proper repair and (3) providing food and raiment for ascetics (of the shrine), learned men, visitors and others'. Cf. *E.I.*, 3, pp. 295-97.

[162] *E.I.*, 3, pp. 263-264. Oṃkāraśivācārya, the Siddhānta Śaiva ascetic of Āmardaka lineage in Rajastan received a royal grant for a Śiva temple managed by him. This grants consisted of a village Vyāghrapāṭaka along with its properties, e.g., grass in pasture land, *udraṅga*, rows of trees, water, *bhāga* and *mayuta* (?) income, shares of all sorts of grain, *khala-bhikṣā*, *prasthaka*, *skandhaka*, *mārgaṇaka*, fines including those on ten offenses, gifts, treasures, deposits and much more. The grant was made to meet expenses of ritual bathing of the idol as also for different services.

[163] For details, cf, *E.I.*, 1, p.357, v. 30 (Ranod); *E.I.*, 31, p. 36, v.24 (Senkapat). The Dhureti plates indicate that when Santasiva mortgaged his *maṭha*'s assets through a *vittabandha* to the *raṇaka* Dhareka,

---

it was inclusive of gold too (*hiraṇyasya dattam iti*). Cf. Mirashi (1955): 373-4.

[164] *Infra*, pp. 136 and 144.

[165] Mirashi (1955): 233, v. 43.

[166] Pathak (1960): 50. Pathak regards the two as contemporaries and says that Vāmaśambhu was the preceptor of the second Yuvarājadeva and that the royal kingdom was dedicated by the ruler to his preceptor. *Ibid*, p. 48. Such devolutions would indicate the prosperity of ascetics. Siddhāntika proclivities of the second Yuvarājadeva are not in doubt as, in addition to offering wealth to Īśāna, he in particular is found composing and proclaiming verses that recalled Āgamic faith. Mirashi (1955): 223, vv.72-76.

[167] Sircar (1983): 580, v.25. In the record Sadbhāvaśambhu is the *ācārya* who received this gift from Yuvarājadeva. But as explained in the following footnote the gift seems to have been given by second Yuvarājadeva to Vāmaśambhu. As for the gift, it is interpreted as an endowment that yielded the revenue amounting to a sum of 'three hundred thousand' (coins?). For a detailed interpretation, Cf., Sanderson (2009): 265, fn. 622, quoting Sircar (*E.I.* 37, p. 13). Mirashi (1955: clviii) explained the phrase in terms of three lakhs of villages, which would amount to one-third revenue of the ruler's home province of Ḍāhala. Mirashi also drew attention to "the *ācāryas* of south Indian branches of *golakī maṭha* who are described as belonging to *lakṣādhyāyī santāna* or *bhikṣā maṭha*." In any case, this gift was substantial. cf. Pathak (1960): 32. Also Mirashi (1955): clviii, fn.4.

[168] The number of villages granted to the *ācārya* does not match with the details found in the Gurgi inscription (Mirashi 1955: 233, vv. 35-43) which specifically lists the first Yuvarājadeva's grants. For that reason, this should be considered as a separate gift. The gap of almost three centuries between the Malkapuram (1261 CE) and Gurgi records (last quarter of tenth century) may explain the mix up of details. This likelihood makes us more dependent on the records of the region where events really took place. The second Yuvarājadeva (not the first Yuvarājadeva) must have been the ruler who doled out the substantial endowment referred as '*grāmāṇām ...bhikṣām trilakṣīṃ dadau*' in charity. His Siddhantin proclivities are not in doubt in the verses he is supposed to have composed in dedicating his wealth (*vaibhava*). cf. Mirashi (1955): 222, vv. 72-76. Pathak (1960): 48-49. Pathak considers Vāmaśiva (Vāmaśambhu) to be the *rājaguru* of the second Yuvarājadeva. *Ibid.*, pp. 48, 50.

[169] Mirashi (1955): 220.

and says that Prabhāvaśiva 'was made to accept the monastery' with the object of gaining excellent fame arising out of benefit to creatures.'[170] Prabhāvaśiva's installation in the *maṭha* was followed by a liberal grant of 'a twelfth part of ten villages' besides eight other villages' as a token of respect to the great ascetic who had 'mastered the Siddhānta.' The ruler also gave away to him an entire 'city crowded with citizens, as a grant'. To the presiding deity of the accompanying Somanātha temple, the ruler granted five other villages. The Gurgi record states that the 'king himself offered by an inscribed charter the famous abode (obviously the Golagnika *maṭha*) ...to the ascetic possessed of religious merit whom he himself worshipped.' The *maṭha* was established at 'infinite cost' (*ananta dhana pratiṣṭhaṃ*) by Yuvarājadeva I.[171] The record also expresses his wish that 'this provision for the maintenance of Śaiva ascetics, made [by him] and [to be] preserved by the succeeding rulers [may] endure till the end of the *Kalpa*.'[172] These sentiments of the first Yuvarājadeva (915-945 CE) are recorded by the second Kokalladeva (990-1015 CE) three generations after him, indicating that the provisions made for the *golagnika* (*golagī/golakī*) *maṭha* earlier were still in place.[173] These provisions were made for the maintenance of the ascetics: *vṛttiḥ śaivatapobhṛtāṃ*, and were supposed to endure and be confirmed by succeeding rulers.[174] The ascetics had control over the temples which enjoyed separate grants besides substantial cess on commodities that came up for sale in the temple town of Bilhari.[175] Bilhari was the locus of Nauhaleśvara *maṭha* and it grew, in time, into a major trading centre with brisk commercial transactions. Its *maṇḍapikā* (market place) collected cess on different commodities including salt and oil, betel nuts, dried ginger, vegetables and other merchandise, as also on sale of elephants and horses. The cess was collected every month or on occasions, on commodities in terms of *yuga* or in currency consisting of *śodaśikā*, *kapardi*, *paura*, *dyutaparda*. Every shop on the market place paid a tax to transact business. The sale of individual donations or of the gifts made (to the god or monastery) was prohibited. The proceeds, so collected, went to the *maṭha* as the property of the temple. That Bilhari, the centre of the Nauhaleśvara *maṭha* became a veritable commercial hub with its marketing activities controlled by the *maṭha* (i.e. ascetics) is evident from the Bilhari record of Yuvarājadeva II. Possessed of wealth so acquired and with huge land grants the monasteries and their presiding *ācāryas* seem to have acquired control over immense resources. Their prosperity is reflected in their charity and other activities, including temple-building. We have a reference to Vimalaśiva's (II) gifts of 'hundreds of cows shining with gold' to *Brāhmaṇas* on 'new moon days'.[176]

---

[170] *Ibid*, p. 227, 231, verse 7.

[171] *Ibid*, p. 228, v. 7.

[172] *Ibid*, p. 233, vv.35-43.

[173] *Ibid*, pp. 197, 220, 223, 233.

[174] *Ibid*, p. 233, v. 43.

[175] *Ibid*, pp. 223-224, vv. 79-84.

[176] *Ibid*, p. 339, v. 38.

According to the Jabalpur Stone Inscription of Jayasiṃha, the ascetics' sacrificial rites and charitable works were performed with abundance of wealth and in a praiseworthy manner 'like those of kings'.[177] The fairs and festivals sponsored by the ascetics became events of grand celebrations and such events in the *tapovanas* must have helped in consolidating their hold over woodland communities that were prone to consider others, including especially the rulers as unwelcome intruders into their habitat. The ascetics, as their benefactors, became increasingly acceptable to them and the festivals institutionalised such accord. The Chandrehe inscription (verses 7, 15) perhaps metaphorically alludes to such a festival at Chandrehe in the month of *Māgha* (February) every year when the *āśrama*-ic gathering in the *tapovana* in the midst of the *priyāla* woods (*priyāla vana sankule*) of Chandrehe delightfully turned, as it were, into the 'assembly of Indra'.[178] Such a festival at Nohaleśvara *maṭha* (at Bilhari) refers to community participation when it is said that inhabitants of Tripurī, Saubhāgyapura, Lavaṇanagara, Durlabhapura, Vimānapura would 'bring a wooden figure of a bull every day at the fair of the god for performance of religious rites'.[179] Apparently, such gatherings might have occasioned gifts in cash and kind to pour in and augment the resources of the monasteries. The *munis* having gained acceptance, allegience and moral authority through their piety, and acquiring economic prosperity through their administrative and organisational skills, it is not surprising that they came to wield formidable power.

ASCETICS AND POWER

The relevant epigraphic sources reveal that in time, the Siddhānta ascetics came to incorporate both piety and power within their practices, beginning with Gopācala and following it up in the Cedi-Ḍāhala region as the order proliferated. The *kaupīna*[180]-wearing ascetics, donning elaborate head gear of matted-locks and exuding a spiritual air about them were not loath to mix piety with power; and their well-entrenched, ever-expanding and affluent monastic network in the *tapovanas*, with insuperable woodland communities on their side, could not remain purely spiritual in intent. There is little doubt that the hugely acclaimed piety of ascetics turned them into celebrities *par excellence*. However, piety alone would not explain the authority they gradually came to exercise in the polity. Their engagement with piety and power seems to have prevailed *in tandem*, regardless of the contrary pulls of piety that valorised renunciation and power that ensured authority, laced occasionally with aggression. The *raison d'être* of their rise in the intractable hinterlands and devolution of the privileges of power, pelf and glory descending upon them uninvited, needs being interrogated. The accretion of power precipitated the Śaivite *ācāryas*' ascendancy in social, economic and temporal sphere. This comes out conspicuously in epigraphs as the ascetics prevailed in the hinterland well-endowed with their highly acclaimed status, lineage, Diaspora, *maṭhas*, material resources, spiritual pursuits and unflinching support to local communities. The strongly built *maṭhas* they occupied also dominated the woodlands and served as explicit symbols of their power.

---

[177] *Ibid*, p. 338, v. 28.

[178] *Ibid*, pp. 201-202, v. 8.

[179] *Ibid*, p. 224, after verse 83. The term *kīrti* implies the temple accompanying the Nauhaleśvara *maṭha* for which substantial grants by royal order were made, including the cess and gifts collected at the *maṇḍapikā* of the monastic settlement of Bilhari.

[180] A small 'piece of cloth hiding nudity', cf, Monier Williams (2006): 316, sv.

The ascetics do not seem to have been discreet about the subservience of contemporary rulers towards them and the contemporary records exultingly dwell upon it time and again. This is apparent in the ascetics' repeated claims about how rulers bowed to them in supplication. The Chandrehe inscription describes Purandara as 'preceptor of kings' (*gururbhūbhujām*). Prabhāvaśiva was 'revered by many kings' (*anekanṛpavanditaḥ*). Dharmaśiva's 'feet were revered by the lustre of the crest jewels of many princes' (*bhūpālamaulimaṇikāntibhirarcitāñ ghṛha*). Sadāśiva's 'venerable feet were worshipped by princes with the lustre of their crowns' (*nṛpaiḥyatpādadvayaṃ vandam arcitaṃ sekharāṃśubhiḥ*). Hṛdayaśiva's 'uniquely venerable feet were rendered beautiful by the multitudes of rubies set in the crowns of princes'; and Īśānaśiva's 'lotus-like feet were reddened by the rays of jewels on the rows of heads of all kings'.[181] Trailokyamalla is said to have been similarly 'devoted to the feet' (*pādārcanarata*) of Śāntaśiva.[182] This might explain the transformation of the renouncers from Vāmaśambhu to Vimalaśiva II into political masters serving the role of the successive royal preceptors (*rājaguru*) of the Kalacuri rulers from Yuvarājadeva II (980-990) to Jayasimha (1163-1188) without let.[183] The practice continued till Trailokyamalla's time (1210 CE) with Śāntaśiva in charge.[184] The acquiescence of contemporary rulers to the authority of these highly acclaimed ascetics may not be in doubt as it served the States' interests. Spirituality did not prevent the *munis* from performing critically decisive roles in political and administrative spaces. The footprint of the ascetics on affairs of State—affairs that included war, campaigns, defence, administration, support to trade and control over the hinterland through *maṭhas* is revealed time and again. The *maṭhas* sometimes figure as militarised arsenals, equipped with stables of elephants and horses. In substance, their role in these domains of polity empowered them and lent them authority.

The ambitious predispositions of the Siddhānta ascetics, apart from their spiritual attainments, are discerned in their militarism, administrative function and their well-knit monastic organisation. Their active role in such matters helped in perpetuating their supremacy over the potentates roughly for four centuries from *c.* 825 CE. Epigraphs consistently indicate rulers supplicating to them and the evidence always seems to indicate their investiture into the well-provided *maṭhas*, or their clout not as a result of their supplication to rulers but *vice-versa.* This was the case repeatedly in respect of:

---

[181] Mirashi (1955): 200, v. 4 (for Purandara); v. 5 also; *ibid*, p. 231, v. 6 (for Prabhāvaśiva); *ibid*, p. 220, v. 50 (for Dharmaśiva); *ibid*, p. 220, v. 51 (for Sadāśiva), *ibid*, p. 221, v. 54 (for Hṛdayaśiva); *Ibid*, p. 232, v. 17 (for Īśānaśiva). In the colophonic verses of the *Prāyaścittasamuccaya* of Hṛdayaśiva, his *guru* Īśvaraśiva is described as one whose 'lotus feet were worshipped by kings': *āsittatsaṃtatau muni śri Īśvaraśivaiti/ jagatīpatibhirnṛpaiḥpūjitapādapankajaḥ*; cf., Sanderson (2009): 268, fn. 631.

[182] Mirashi (1955): 372.

[183] Pathak (1960): 50.

[184] Mirashi (1955): 372.

1. Avantivarman Caulukya who gifted 'the essence of his kingdom' to Purandara at Araṇipadra (Ranod) and Mattamayūrapura (Kadwaha) in *c.* 825 CE.[185]
2. The local Caulukya prince, possibly the protégé of Dharmaśiva at Mattamayūrapura (sometime in the last quarter of the ninth century), in whose favour Dharmaśiva, a *muni* of Kadwaha engaged prince Gobhaṭa in a battle and died fighting.[186]
3. *Nṛpa cakravartī* Harirāja, a Later Pratihāra who sought and received 'initiation' (*dīkṣā*) from the *ācārya* at Kadwaha to be able to join his fold (the last quarter of 10th century).[187]
4. Yuvarājadeva I (915-945) who invited Prabhāvaśiva and established him reverentially at Gurgi near Rewa.[188]
5. Nohalā, the queen of Yuvarājadeva I who similarly established Īśvaraśiva at Bilhari (near Katni, Madhya Pradesh) in early 10th century.[189]
6. Lakṣmaṇarāja II (946-970) who established Hṛdyaśiva at Maihar (Vaidyanātha monastery) and witnessed Aghoraśiva being established at Bilhari, before mounting a military campaign towards the west.[190]
7. And then, after Lakṣmaṇarāja II, the primacy of the successive *ācāryas* as preceptors (*rājagurus*) of the successive Kalacuri rulers from Yuvarājadeva II to Jayasimha, spanning a couple of centuries.[191]

In substance, such consistency in their proximity to rulers exalted the *munis* and their authority in the Vindhyan hinterland especially as safely ensconced here, they also secured their protégé's interests in the outlying provinces or territories of the kingdom. Their fortified[192] monasteries turned, in time, into seats of power under their command, where they pursued monasticism of sorts, which did not rule out militancy. Militancy, among other things, seems to have been a significant ingredient of their functions –militancy not *per se* but designed to strengthen the State. In the process of helping out the State militant monasticism seems to have succeeded in carving out for itself a 'state within the State', as it were. Their well-provided monasteries in the woodlands could have served as strongholds with arsenal and troops, which could be depended on in times of need. Sometimes rulers even invoked the *munis*' help before an armed campaign, as happened in the instance of the Kalacuri Lakṣmaṇarāja II.

---

[185] *Supra*, pp. 40-41.

[186] *Infra*, pp. 71-72.

[187] *Supra*, p. 49. Though Harirāja ruled over the region, the *maṭha* is presented in the epigraph as independent and the *ācārya* totally unaware of him.

[188] *Supra*, pp. 64-65. Mirashi (1955): 231, vv.6-7

[189] *Supra*, p. 52, Mirashi (1955): 219-20, vv.37, 44.

[190] *Ibid*, p. 221, vv. 54-59.

[191] Pathak (1960): 50.

[192] This is especially true of the monasteries at Ranod, Surwaya and Kadwaha, which, even today, are popularly known as *garhis* (fortresses).

This ruler is said to have launched a military expedition, moving his forces including elephants and horses, powerful feudatories and foot soldiers towards the 'western quarters', i.e. Gujarat.[193] Before mounting the attack, Lakṣmaṇarāja II is said to have fetched Hṛdayaśiva from Madhumatī and established him at the Vaidyanātha monastery in his realm. The sequence of events here is significant and the *munis*' investiture in the monasteries in the case stands as a prelude to an ambitious military expedition. The event is much like what we have in the Jonarāja's commentary on *Pṛthvīrāja Vijaya* of Jayānaka where a (Kalacuri) king named Sāhasika is said to have dedicated his empire (*nijarājalakṣmīṃ gurudakṣiṇāyai dattvā*) to his ascetic-*guru* Vāmadeva before proceeding to conquer the whole earth (*sarvāṃ bhūmiṃ jetuṃ prasthitavān*).[194] These instances indicate how political power devolved upon the ascetics who took over as regents of the State while the rulers waged war in distant lands.

The Siddhānta ascetics seem to have strengthened their hold in the hinterland of the Vindhyas with their network of *maṭhas*, which probably helped in validating the rulers' writ in remote stretches of their kingdom. Epigraphic accounts often bring out the ascetics' belligerent, militaristic role in favour of their royal disciples. The Gurgi inscription of Kokalladeva II refers to Īśānaśambhu's 'conquest' (*nirjitya*) and compares him with Paraśurāma, the legendary warrior.[195] Prabodhaśiva is described as 'Paraśurāma' in the Chandrehe inscription; he is said to have 'conquered all his enemies' (*vijitaśatruvargaśca yaḥ*) and 'showed the effect of his power on mighty kings' (*samunnata mahībhṛti prakatitātmaśaktikramo*). He is compared to Kārttikeya, the divine commander who was the destroyer of the demon Tāraka.[196] Vimalaśiva II

---

193. Mirashi (1955): 221, vv. 56-59.

194. Cf. Pathak (1960): 36, fn.5, quoting *Pṛthvīrāja Vijaya* p.174. Sircar identifies Sāhasika with Gāṅgeyadeva but Pathak takes him to be Yuvarājadeva II arguing that "Since his reign there is a continued line of the *rājagurus* in succession running from Vāmaśambhu." Cf., Sircar in *E.I.*, 30, pp. 46-51; Pathak (1960): 36-37.

195. Mirashi (1955): 232, verse 17-18.

196. *Ibid*, pp. 200, 203, vv. 9-10, 12; "There was ... Prabodhaśiva (who)... as Paraśurāma... conquering all enemies, adorned the face of the quarters with his fame, and bestowing wealth on the meritorious, placed earth under obligation. He was like Kumāra (Kārttikeya)... who showed the effect of his power on mighty kings... He having attained power, has acted like the rising sun, whose feet are rendered more resplendent by the (jewelled) crests of kings (who bowed to him...), who is revered by all people at the time of making peace..., (and) what more (need be said) who having attained greatness has pervaded the three worlds by his power..." Vyomaśiva is similarly described as one who was capable of rescuing people in times of calamity (*uddhvartumvipadi prajāṃ*) and he brought back the glory of both the people and the ruler (*sā-ślāghyā vasatiḥ sa-evaviṣayaste*

is eulogised for his "political wisdom" and might, i.e. for 'power against enemies'. Nādaśiva is mentioned as 'adept in the knowledge of religious texts and weaponry' (*śastra-śāśtra viśāradaḥ*).[197] Śaktiśiva 'augmented' the royal power of Gayākarṇa[198] Kīrtiśiva is said to have "reduced to ashes, the city of enemies" and "wrested" the enemies' "glory".[199] No wonder that the ascetics of the Mattamayūra lineage became indispensable to the State in exercising power including combative actions, if the occasion so demanded.

Such oblique or explicit references to their war-like disposition suggest that the Siddhānta ascetics were in demand because of their involvement with the State's war machine and its political and economic affairs. They might have augmented the State's security by offering training, and garrisoning the royal forces—elephants and horses included—maintaining arsenals, manufacturing weapons and taking care of affairs of State when a monarch left his seat to mount a military expedition. The ascetics' fascination for elephants is reflected in several instances. The Ranod inscription explicitly states that the *maṭha* at Aranipadra was well provided with 'trumpeting elephants' and 'neighing horses' (*tvaṅgat tuṅga turaṅgamaiḥ madabharoddhvattaiśca garjjat gajaiḥ*) besides gold, jewels and plentiful corn.[200] Similarly, in the temple town of Bilhari, the deity of the temple received elephants and horses in gift after the victorious king returned from a military expedition: *"datvā yaḥ kari vāji śubhra vasanas... tuṣṭāva tuṣṭaḥ prabhuḥ..."*[201] This could be eminently possible as ancient Bilhari had a market where elephants and horses were brought for sale, and the local Śiva temple received four and two *pauras* (a coin) respectively on the sale of each elephant and horse.[202] The ascetics' preference for elephants in the *maṭha* was no secret. The rulers were aware of it and on occasions, they offered elephants to the presiding *ācārya* of a *maṭha*. The elephants and horses in the *maṭha* seem to have augmented the State's war machine even as the State recruited officers like *mahāpramattavāra* and *mahā-aśvasādhanika* to acquire and manage its

---

prāṇinastā-diśaḥ, sa bhūrbhūmipatiḥ sa eva kimataste te pradeśāḥ paraṃ) even as, in glory, he vied with the rulers, as it were, ... *kṣitibhṛt urubhara-spardhi., E.I.*,1, pp.356, 357, 358, vv. 23, 31, 38.

[197] Mirashi (1955): 339, vv. 39, 40, 44. "Showing exceedingly great vigilance in looking after all royal affairs, the indefatigable leader... (*viz.* Vimalaśiva II), "shows the play of power against the enemies...". Nādaśiva, son of *bhaṭṭāraka* Vimalaśiva II, is described as 'skilled in all arts and proficient in all arms and sciences...". He was supposed to be the "support of all supplicants'. Mirashi (1955): 372.

[198] Mirashi (1955): 337, v. 18): "...Śaktiśiva... (who augmented) the royal powers of the illustrious king Gayākarṇa..."

[199] Mirashi, (1955): 335, 337, vv. 23-24: Kīrtiśiva, who "... had not the earth for his chariot, nor the sun and moon for its wheels, nor Brahmā for his charioteer, nor Viṣṇu for his arrow. Still he reduced to ashes the cities of the enemies (as Śiva did those of demons). Hence, he (was)... Kīrtiśiva, 'Śiva in glory'. He is further said to have "... filled all regions with his glory which he wrested from the enemy...". The enemy remains unnamed.

[200] *E.I.* 1, p. 357, verse 30: *dhānya hiraṇya ratna nivahaiḥ....*

[201] Mirashi, (1955): 214 verse 62.

[202] Mirashi, (1955): 223-224.

own reserves of such animals for war. The instances above indicate that the interest of *munis* lay in stocking not cattle like cows and buffaloes, but horses and elephants that augmented the war machine.

The presence of monasteries and faithful *sthānapatis* in remote regions of the kingdom must have given immense relief to the rulers who had their support. It may be surmised that the *ācāryas* perhaps recruited the combatant force from among the labour force, which they engaged in their *maṭhas* to build temples, monasteries and other work from time to time.[203] They also participated in civil administration as did Vimalaśiva II who 'showed power against enemies', accomplished many 'suitable affairs' of State, was ever 'vigilant in looking after all royal affairs'; and 'by his counsel' he made 'even the most distant people pay taxes'.[204] These roles and function of the Śaivite *ācāryas* may explain the inevitability of their power and authority and their close royal connections. These may also explain why the monasteries came up mostly in peripheral regions of the kingdom, in the hinterland, the regions which were not under effective writ of the State and were vulnerable to strife by woodland folk and external aggression due to their remoteness.

Monasteries had their travails too when their precincts became the targets of fierce and violent aggression. This happened in the instance of Terambi (Terahi) where Undabhaṭa fought with the forces of Guṇarāja and many warriors lost their life.[205] Kadwaha too had to suffer a violent armed aggression that proved disastrous as the presiding Saiva *ācārya* of its *maṭha* died in action. This happened as the prince (*bhūpa*) Gobhaṭa raided Kadambaguhā with his army of elephants (*tatrājagāmonmada sindhurāṇām balena bhūpaḥ kila Gobhaṭākhyaḥ*) sometime in the last quarter of the ninth cntury. Dharmaśiva 'of impeccable glory' (*śucikīrti*) was then the Śaiva *ācārya* of the Kadwaha *maṭha*.[206] When someone, possibly the local Caulukya ruler, a protégé of Dharmaśiva, suddenly died (*sahasā papāta*) in the counteraction, the *ācārya* was so enraged (*tad anu kopavipāṭalākṣaḥ*) that he took up arms, joined battle and fought as if he indeed was Śiva-Tripurāntaka on earth (vv.15-17).[207] He conquered the whole army of the enemy (Gobhaṭa) by means of "a bow and arrows acquired by his own miraculous power",[208] but eventually lost his life in the encounter.[209] We have in this narrative a firm and incontrovertible evidence of a warrior monk, taking up arms and engaging in battle. The description in the fragmentary epigraph about Apsarasas showering flowers on the dead *ācārya* (*surapati ramaṇīnāṃ puṣpa vṛṣṭyāvakīrṇaḥ...*) suggests that Dharmaśiva died a hero's death in battle. The reference to a 'bow and arrow' that the sage 'miraculously produced' on the occasion, seems to obliquely hint at the monastery being the arsenal of weapons of war and the sage being a warrior. The monastic habitat of the *ācārya* being an arsenal seems to be in conformity with what the *Mayasaṃgraha* and the *Piṅgalamata* say of the provisions in the abode of a *guru* of royal disciples.[210]

---

[203] See *Infra*, p. 73. Similar arrangement probably worked in respect of the central Indian monasteries too.

[204] Mirashi, (1955): 336, 339, vv. 39, 40, 44: No wonder, the king Jayasiṃha "becoming very humble through devotion..." bows to 'illustrious' Vimalaśiva.

[205] *Infra*, p. 105.

[206] *E.I.*, 37, p. 123, vv.13-14.

[207] *E.I.* 37; Dharmaśiva is linked by Sanderson to Raṇipadra (Ranod) monastery, but Kadwaha epigraph relates the event to Kadwaha, which was the site of the battle with Dharmaśiva in command both of the monastery and the battle. He took up arms apparently when the local *rājā*, his protégé, 'suddenly fell'. It may also be noted that the Ranod inscription does not refer to any of its ascetics' engagement in fight. Cf., Sanderson (2009): 262 for his views.

In their rise to power through such actions, the ascetics came to acquire privileges which cut into those conventionally accorded to the Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas in the *varṇa* hierarchy. The epigraphs reveal interesting details in this connection. Under the Kalacuris, Brāhmaṇas performed the role of ministers (two cases),[211] priests (four cases),[212] writers of the *praśastis* (seven cases),[213] and official witnesses to the land grants (five cases).[214] They figure as donees (24 cases) too who received land grants[215] (10 records). The *munis*, on their part, are found sharing mainly two of these specific Brāhmanic roles and privileges, namely: receiving land grants[216] and acting as official witnesses (four cases) to land grants,[217] and there the commonality ends.[218] The quality of these privileges and roles substantially differs in their respective cases. In the cases of land grants, the share of the *munis* stood phenomenally higher than that of the Brāhmaṇas including those twenty-four cases where the latter perhaps immigrated to or were settled in the Kalacuri territory by the rulers' grants. For a total grant of twelve villages and two fields to twenty-four Brāhmaṇas, the share of endowment of villages to the *munis* was phenomenal.[219] This dispensation committed a huge share of revenue of the Kalacuri state to the *munis*.

---

[208] *E.I.*, 37, p. 118.

[209] Jain and Trivedi (1976: 89) aver that Gobhaṭa of the Kadwaha Fragmentary Inscription who caused the demise of Dharmaśiva of Kaḍwaha, a predecessor of Prabodhaśiva, was an ancestor of Pratihāra Harirāja.

[210] Cf., Sanderson (2009): 261-2, fn. 616. For details, see *infra*, pp. 147-148, fns. 73,74.

[211] For example, the instances of Bhaṭṭa Miśra, the *mantri pradhāna*, and his son *bhaṭṭa* Someśvara, *a mantrin*, Mirashi (1955): 192-193, vv. 6, 15. Others who shared this role included Kāyasthas (two cases), Kṣatriyas (two cases) and an individual of an unspecified *varṇa*. In the inscriptions, the relevant office is variously mentioned as *mahāmantrin*, *mahāmatra* and *mahāpradhāna*. Mirashi (1955): 249, 262, 299, 330, 367, 373, 635-6, 646.

[212] Mirashi (1955): 299, 330, 635-6, 646, which all refer to *Mahā-purohita* as a witness to grants.

[213] In all, there are sixteen instances of the *praśasti*-writers. The Brāhmaṇas did the job in seven cases; a Kṣatriya in one case; the officers of the state in two cases. In the remaining six cases, the caste affiliation of the writers is not specified.

[214] Brāhmaṇas did this job in their capacity as the *mahāpurohita*, (cf, Mirashi 1955: 299, 330, 633-6, 646) or as the *dharma-pradhāna paṇḍita*, (cf. Mirashi 1955: 646). This last case is interesting because here the office of *rajāgūru* is treated as independent of the *Śaivācārya* and the *mahāpurohita*.

[215] In all, twenty-four Brāhmaṇas received twelve villages as grants with full rights on water-bodies, mango and *mahua* trees, pits, barren land, ingress and egress, salt mines, pasture lands, fertile and marshy lands, groves, gardens, grass lands and "so forth." These grants cover a period from *c.* 945 to 1211. Cf., Mirashi (1955): 191, 194, 249-250, 300, 300-331, 344, 363, 652.

[216] *Supra*, pp. 64-65.

[217] Mirashi (1955): 330, 367, 646. In the last case, there is a clear hint of separating the office of *Śaivācārya* from that of *rajāgūru*. The latter does not seem to be a *sthānapati*. The list of witnesses occurs in

Under a unique management system, the Viśveśvara *golakī* monastery of Andhra employed different kinds of artisans and a strong and coersive contingent to enforce discipline and order. This contingent consisted of Vīrabhadras (protectors) and Vīramuṣṭhis (warriors), and ensured the security of the *maṭhas*, their assets and wealth. This contingent maintained discipline in the affairs and activities and even delivered punishments.[220] Such arrangements might have been in place earlier in the monasteries of central India and eventually emulated in the Andhra monastery. The employment of a law-enforcing contingent to maintain discipline and impart punishment to the recalcitrant, including mutilation and castration, represents a significant development, indicating the *ācāryas*' administrative privileges through which they could exercise executive and judicial functions. The Brāhmaṇas pale into insignificance in comparison, in every respect.

Yet another area of the ascetics' parity with the Brāhmaṇas relates to their role as official witness to land grants. Even in this respect, in one instance, the *muni* as *rājaguru* figures

---

atleast eight Kalacuri inscriptions with certain variations in the order of their enumeration.

[218] The commonality of role and functions between the Śaivite ascetics and Brāhmanas may be extended to some other spheres of their activities, e.g., building temples or performing religious functions and rituals or offering advice to the princes or receiving their veneration and respect. Even in these situations, the Śaivite saints seem to have had an edge over the Brāhmaṇas. Two cases are relevant in this respect. One, which dates back to the reign of Śankaragaṇa III (c. 970-980 CE) and refers to Śaivite ascetics residing in a Śiva temple who were granted *khalabhikṣā* (a cess at the threshing floor) besides a granary in an exclusive Brāhmaṇa settlement. This means a cess on Brāhmaṇas to support the ascetic. The second case relates to *munis* (not the Brāhmaṇa priest) who installed, according to the prescribed *sāstric* rules, the Śiva-*linga* in the Vappulleśvara temple, built by Vappullaka the warrior son of a *rāṇaka*. Cf., Mirashi (1955): 197, 284.

[219] *Supra*, pp. 64-65 for particulars of other major village grants to ascetics. It may be added that the temples built by *munis* also received village grants from the Kalacuri princes. Cf., Mirashi (1955): 339, vv. 45-47. A village grant to a *muni* of the Kadwaha *maṭha* is mentioned in a Kadwaha inscription but the name and details about the village are missing in it. Cf., *E.I.* 37, p. 124.

[220] The Viśveśvara *golakī-maṭha* in Andhra retained several Vīramuṣṭhi *bhaṭas* (warriors) and Vīrabhadras who were experts in castration and mutilation: *bījaccheda-śiraccheda kukṣicchedādi karmabhiḥ/vīrabhadra-samākhyāta daśagrāmasyarakṣakāḥ//bhaṭā syur apare bhaktā viṃśativvīramuṣṭayaḥ*. Cf., Sircar (1983): 585, vv. 57-60. Each one of these and other 73 persons were granted a plot of land, 1/16 *nivartana* in measure, besides one *puṭṭikā*. For the details of such grants to them, cf. Sircar (1983): 575.

fourth in the official list next only to the queen, the crown prince and the *mahāmātya* (chief counsellor) but above the chief priest (*mahā-purohita*).[221] This too marks their privileged status compared to Brāhmaṇas and even the chief priest who would have been a Brāhmaṇa. Such privileging stands confirmed in the Kalacuri inscriptions where Brāhmaṇas are found invoking *munis* for favours and gifts which the latter handed down to them liberally and with pride.[222] The *ācāryas* thus seem to have enjoyed far more privileges and power than those accruing to Brāhmanas and the chief-priest taken together. The power and force that the *ācāryas* commanded tends to reflect a modified hierarchy in the *varṇa*-based social stratification—a hierarchy in which they seem to emerge at the apex while Brāhmaṇas and the chief priest figure lower than them in precedence and privileges. These modifications repudiated the conventional *varṇa* hierarchy on one hand and granted supremacy to the ascetics on the other.

The story is repeated in the instance of the Kṣatriyas *vis-à-vis* the *ācāryas*. The latter seem to have successfully relegated this category to a subservient status in numerous ways.[223] Their support to the state may have included garrisoning the war forces, providing elephants, horses, other resources and possibly finances,[224] manufacture and storage of battle-worthy armament,[225] training in the use of weapons and in warfare. Sometimes ascetics even participated in actual battles, as seen in the case of Dharmśiva of Kadwaha. Traditionally, these activities were the preserves of the *Kṣatriyas*, but they seem to have been shared significantly by the *munis* now. In these acts, the *munis* supplemented the role of *Kṣatriyas*. By combining the *Brahma-Kṣatra* roles within their function, the casteless renunciants, the *munis* of Siddhānta Śaiva Order successfully altered and repudiated the primacy of the upper rungs of the *varṇa* system and modified it to their advantage.

---

[221] The head of a monastery as *rājaguru* figures as a witness to royal grants in three instances. In the first case, he is fourth in the list of seventeen witnesses. In the second instance, he is tenth in the list of ten witnesses. In the third instance, he is third in the list of eleven witnesses. Mirashi (1955): 330, 367, 646. In yet another inscription the *guru* is mentioned after gods and *dvija*. Mirashi (1955): 251.

[222] Mirashi (1955): 339, v. 38). It is said of Vimalaśiva II that "At the sight of the best of Brāhmaṇas who approached him as supplicants, his piety increases day and night. Vigilant as he is, he confers, respectfully, on best of Brāhmaṇas... hundreds of cows shining with gold..."

[223] In the Kalacuri records, the title *mahā-bhaṭṭāraka* occurs for imperial rulers. As *bhaṭṭāraka*, shorn of the prefix *mahā*, it is used in one instance for a potentate and in another instance for a Śaivite *ācārya*. For imperial rulers its full form is *parama bhaṭṭāraka mahārājādhirāja parameśvara*. Mirashi (1955): 175, 262. In case of a Siddhānta *muni*, it occurs as *śastra śāstraviśāradaḥ bhaṭṭāraka śrimad rājaguru...*, Mirashi (1955): 372, line 17.

[224] Cf., *E.I.*, 1, p. 357, verses 13, 30, 31. *E.I.* 37, p. 118.

[225] The Kadwaha Fragmentary inscription refers to 'bow and arrow' *E.I.* 37, p. 118. Obviously, the combative weapons must have been available in the Kadwaha *maṭha*.

The worldly connections of those graduating into the fold of ascetics were ritually renounced as they took to *sanyasa*, and entered a monastic system. Neither the stigma of a 'lower' birth nor the prestige of a 'higher' rank could be invoked in their respect. Nevertheless, references are available testifying to lower birth[226] of the Śaivites in some cases just as in an instance the Brahmanic birth of a Siddhānta *muni* also finds mention.[227] This suggests that, despite having secured *dīkṣā* and repudiated their *varṇa* affiliations, Siddhānta ascetics did sometimes bring their birth into reckoning.

Munis catered to the spiritual and material aspirations of the community and offered succour to others who ventured into the raw terrain of the Vindhyan hinterland in pursuit of their interests. The potentates looked up to the *munis* for securing their realm, and this is in evidence from the ninth century onwards. The inscriptions that describe the voluntary submission of potentates to the ascetics also harp on the latter's supportive role for the woodland community. In substance, proximity to that community was the unmitigated source of the ascetics' strength. The ascetics' assertions of authority over rulers who, one after the other, bowed to them humbly, their claims to have 'augmented' the power of their royal protégés, their resources in terms of a network of monasteries, men, material, wealth and benevolent control over the communities, all suggest their hegemonic presence. The power equations in the hinterland with its fiercely independent woodland communities required alternative dynamics of political dispensations and Siddhānta ascetics emerged to fulfil a conciliatory role to the advantage of all the other elements of action, namely *āṭavikas*, rulers and other people at large, thanks to the huge resources at their command.

---

[226] In the *Pañcatantra* stories it is said that Śiva *mantra* and smearing of ashes on the body were the only requisites for a *dīksā* into Śaivism, regardless of the incumbent's birth as a *śudra* or even as a *cāṇḍāla*. Pathak (1987): 48, fn.46.

[227] In the entire epigraphic corpus of the Kalacuri inscriptions, Vimalaśiva II alone is mentioned as a *Brāhmaṇa* by birth. It is alluded once in reference to his "birth in a high caste" (verse 35) and again when he is specifically mentioned as 'foremost among Brāhmaṇas' (verse 39). Cf., Mirashi (1955): 338, 339. In this respect, isolating him from others seems significant. The description that he was pleasing like the 'southern breeze' (verse 32) may indicate his south Indian connections. He is said to have learnt all the Vedas, performed all the brahmanic vows and paid his debt to gods and others at Prabhāsa, Gokarṇa and Gayā.

3

Monastic Architecture: *Maṭhas* 1

At least sixteen *maṭhas*[1] of the Siddhānta ascetics seem to have come up in the Gopācala and Cedi-Ḍāhala regions between the seventh and thirteenth centuries (**Table 1**).

Table 1: Sixteen *maṭhas* of the Gopācala and Ḍāhala regions

No.	*Maṭha* name/ location	Date of Foundation	Modern Name	Coordinates	Census Number	Reference and remarks
1	Kadambaguhā	*c.* 675 CE; Structural phase: c. 825 CE	Kadwaha	24° 42' N / 79° 17' E	457094	*E.I.* 1, p.355, v. 14
2	Sarasvatīpattana	*c.* 750-755 CE	Surwaya	25° 25' N / 77° 48' E	455358 (Shivpuri)	Śaṅkhamaṭhikā (?) named after its *adhipati*, *E.I.* 1, p.354, v. 8.
3	Terambi (variant: Teramvi)	Second quarter of 8th century	Terai (variant: Terahi)	25° 3' N / 77° 58' E	456271 Khaniyadhana Taluk in Shivpuri	named after Terambipāla, *E.I.* 1, p.355, v.9
4	Āmardaka	*c.*775 CE	Amrol-81 (Amroul)	26° 1' N / 78° 6' E	454287	*Epigraphia Indica* 1, p. 355.

---

[1] This oft-repeated term is applied to the Nohaleśvara monastery (of Bilhari) of *ācārya* Aghoraśiva, (Mirashi 1955:215, v.83, tr. 224, also v. 58), to the Vaidyanātha monastery (of Maihar) of *munipuṅgava* Hṛdayaśiva (*ibid*, p.213, v.57) and to the Chandrehe monastery (*ibid.*, p. 201, v.16: *maṭhaṃ unnataṃ*). The Chandrehe *maṭha* was distinguished as an *āśrama* too, e.g., *praśāntāśrama* after Praśāntaśiva, 'a companion of *munis*: *munisakhaḥ*' (*Ibid*, p. 200, v. 7). The Gurgi monastery, the most eminent among those of the Ḍāhala region, is designated as a *maṭha* built at great cost.

No.	*Maṭha* name/ location	Date of Foundation	Modern Name	Coordinates	Census Number	Reference and remarks
5	Araṇipadra	*c.*825 CE	Rannod (variant: Ranod)	25° 45′ N / 76° 37′ E	451639	*E.I.* 1, p.355,v.15
6	Madhumatī	7th-8th cen tury	Mahuwa	25° 1′ N / 77° 57′ E	456282	Mirashi (1955): 231,v.3
7	Golagnika	915-945 CE	Gurgi-Rehuta	24° 40′ N / 80° 40′ E	462996	Mirashi (1955): 231, v.7
8	Bilhari: (Nohaleśvara) (ancient name unknown)	915-945 CE	Bilhari	Map 1	Not available	Mirashi (1955): 221,v.58
9	Maihar (Vaidyanātha) (ancient name unknown	Third quarter of 10th century	Maihar	24° 16′ N / 80° 45′ E	Not available	Mirashi (1955):221, v. 57.
10	Chandrehe	973 CE (Completed)	Chandreh (Chandrehe)	24° 17′ N / 81° 29′ E or 24° 18′ N / 82° 8′ E	502400 (Rampur Naikin, Sidhi)	Mirashi (1955): 203, vv.7, 16.
11	Chunari (ancient name unknown)	10th century	Chunari	24° 58′ N / 81° 39′ E	465022	Not recorded
12	Tripurī (mentioned as *pada*)	10th century	Bheda Ghat (near anc. Tripuri)	23° 7′ N / 79° 48′ E	Not available	Mirashi (1955): 334, vv.6-8.
13	Indor (ancient name unknown)	10th century	Indora (variants: Indor, Innor)	24° 59′ N / 77° 50′ E	460362	Not recorded
14	Thubon (ancient name unknown)	10th century	Thubon	24° 42′ N / 78° 8′ E	Not available	Locality near Chanderi; not recorded
15	On the bank of Orr river, near Chanderi	1042-43 CE	Budhi Chanderi	24° 48′ N / 78° 5′ E	500178	Jain & Trivedi (1976): 87.
16	Kodal (ancient name unknown)	End of 11th century CE	Kodal (variant: Koral)	23° 19′ N / 79° 22′ E	462857 Tendukheda, Tehsil of Damoh	Not recorded

Established in the woodlands by or for the different Mattamayūra *munis* and their scions, these imposing stone structures, standing as their exclusive, well-provided strongholds, proclaim their masters' sway over the hinterland of central India. The *maṭhas* apparently seem to assert Siddhāntika imagery and symbolism in the otherwise severe and desolate, though vast, territorial spaces of those hinterlands. Usually accompanied by temples and their art and iconography, some of it awe-inspiring, these *maṭha*s are scattered around in the sprawling wilderness and underscore the authority of ascetics who occupied them. Conventionally defined as the 'abodes of acolytes etc' (*śiṣyādīnāṃ gṛhaṃ maṭhaṃ ucyate*, *Amarakośa*), the *maṭha*s came up in strength in the rocky, wooded terrain between the Sindh and Betwa Rivers and elsewhere in Gopācala and similar tracts on the banks of the Son, Narmada and elsewhere in the Cedi-Ḍāhala region as hubs of the ascetics' activities (**Map 3**). Major *maṭha*s like those of Kadwaha, Surwaya, Chandrehe and Kodal contained a granary and some of them a vault too to preserve agricultural produce and wealth. Some *maṭha*s, like Ranod, Kadwaha and Surwaya, were fortified.[2]

These retreats of ascetics may be classified into three categories, namely: 1) those recorded and extant today; 2) those recorded but extinct; and 3) those not recorded in the epigraphs but in existence nevertheless.

The *maṭha*s at Kadwaha (Kadambaguhā/Mattamayūrapura), Ranod (Araṇipadra) and Chandrehe, belong to the first category: recorded in epigraphs and extant today. We may include the Surwaya (Sarasvatīpattana) and Terahi (Terambi) *maṭha*s too in this category; the former because of the *maṭhikā*-specific name of its *adhipati* ('overlord') Śankhamaṭhikādhipati and latter in reference to its 'protector' 'Terambipāla', the term *pāla* signifying the 'protector' status of power and authority.[3] All these centres developed exclusively at the initiative of the ascetics. The Surwaya retreat developed gradually from a *maṭhikā* to a commanding stronghold of *muni*s. Terahi, invested in the mid-eighth century, witnessed bloody battles in 903 and 905 CE.[4]

To the category of the *maṭha*s recorded but extinct, belong the ones that were built by ascetics at Madhumatī[5] and Budhi Chanderi;[6] and also those built by rulers for ascetics at

---

[2] Fortification betrays the need for protection of the *maṭha*s in the hinterland from rulers, raiders and/or *āṭavika*s. Events, however, indicate that while the *maṭha*s encountered raids and attacks by a chieftain (like Gobhaṭa, for instance) or by (forces of) the Sultans of Delhi or Mandu, the *āṭavika* communities never troubled them. On the contrary, the *āṭavika* warriors of the region received support from ascetics and acclaim too if they sacrificed life in action. Cf. Trivedi, H. (1989): 583: *munibhiḥ saṃstutaḥ tatra gīyiko bhuvi yuddhitaḥ*. Among chieftains Gobhaṭa alone appears in an adversarial role against the ascetics of Kadwaha.

[3] *E.I.*, 1, p. 355, v. 9. Mirashi (1974): 179: ...*Terambipālākhyaḥ* ...*śambhūpamo bhavet*. A dilapidated, two-storeyed monastery now exits at Terahi (anc. Terambi) along with a temple.

[4] *Infra*, pp. 104-105.

[5] It is identified with Mahua, a village near Terahi in Shivpuri Distt. An inscription refers to it as 'abode' (*dhāma*) of the Siddhānta *muni*s. Cf, Mirashi (1955): 227, tr. 231, v. 3.

[6] Cf. Jain and Trivedi (1976): 90, v. 10. It was built by Prabodhaśiva on the banks of Orr (anc. Urvaśī) River.

Gurgi, Bilhari, Maihar and Tripuri or its vicinity.[7] Amrol may also be placed in this category of sites with extinct *maṭhas* in that it once was a prominent seat of *Āmardakatīrthanātha*.[8] In the third category of the *maṭhas*, not recorded[9] but existent in varying states of neglect or preservation, may be included the *maṭhas* of Thubon, Indor, Chunari and Kodal. Their builders are unknown, but several of their features are unmistakably the same as those found in *maṭhas* authenticated by epigraphic record.

These *maṭhas*, wherever surviving, are remarkable stone structures made of coarse square or rectangular blocks. The larger blocks measure about 75 × 50 cm to 100 × 40 cm in size (at Kadwaha, for instance). Conforming to a simple plan of a quadrangular courtyard with cells at the back entered through a doorway, or of cells with pillared *vīthīs* (corridors) in front radiating around an open courtyard, the *maṭhas* typologically exhibit variations in their form and bearing but are fundamentally cognate in style. The distinctions are evident in their constitutive elements, size and dimensions, single or multiple storeys, plain or sloping roofs, balcony, doorways, porch, pillars, cells, dormitories, stone-grilled *vātāyana* (windows), assembly halls and other utilitarian structures, interior furniture (animal headed stone pegs, for instance), silos for harvested produce and vaults for wealth. Lived in and controlled by *munis*, they operated in what was described as *tapovanas* in the midst of *aṭavīs* and their *āṭavikas*. Their interiors seem to sometime contain a central cell/chamber, which may have perhaps served as a shrine till such retreats came to have a temple beside them. The temples adjoining the *maṭhas* often came up later than their companion *maṭhas* and when built, they were placed invariably to the north of the monastery.

Inscriptions designate the *maṭhas* variously but arbitrarily in terms which neither define their distinctions nor distinguish one type from the other. As a result, we find the same monastery addressed differently. Thus, Kadwaha[10] and Ranod[11] retreats are described as *maṭha* as well as *āśrama* (hermitage) without significantly distinguishing one type from the other in terms of their purpose or constitutive elements. Yet, distinctions in their character and

---

7. *Supra*, pp. 50-55 about monasteries at Bilhari, Gurgi, Maihar and Tripuri and their lines of ascetics. The monastery at Tripuri of its vicinity could as well be a work of ascetics, not rulers.
8. The *maṭha* at this site is extinct now though the local Rameshwar Mahadeva temple and the other remains at the site indicate Amrol's once flourishing state. The Gwalior Museum inscription of Pataṅgśambhu is categorical in stating that Āmardaka-Rudraśiva 'adorned this place for ever': *śrīmad āmardkaṃ yena sthānaṃ cira alaṃkṛtaṃ*, Mirashi (1974): 179, v. 9. To us, Amrol (District Gwalior) seems to be the ancient *Āmardaka tīrtha* and the site has three pre-tenth century Śaivite temples.
9. It is also possible that the epigraphs recording them have either been lost or have not come to light yet.
10. For its mention as *aśrama* and *maṭha*, cf. *E.I.*, 1, p. 355, v. 14; *E.I.*, 37, p. 123, v. 14. *Āśrama* (Monier Williams (1963): 158, sv.) similarly means 'a hermitage, the abode of ascetics, the cell of a hermit or of retired saints or sages'.
11. For its mention as *āśrama* and *maṭha*, cf. *E.I.*, 1, pp. 355, 357, vv.15, 30, 29.

use of spaces are obvious in different examples. While Kadwaha and Surwaya *maṭha*s have conspicuous fortification and elaborate defences with ramparts (*prākāra*, *vapra*), vertically arranged courses of loopholes on the *prākāra*, battlements (*indraśīrṣa*), towers and walks close to the parapet. The Ranod *maṭha* survives today with a tower-like prop which covers its stairs and a series of battlements that are arrayed on its parapet representing *prākāra*. The tower and battlements exhibit its elementary fortification and defences in their rudiments. The accompanying inscription describes it as *maṭha*, *vasati*, *gurusthāna* and *āśrama*. *Vasati* here may signify its one time status as a 'dwelling' or 'overnight dwelling'.[12] It was a *gurusthāna* because of its association with Purandara *guru*. He had it constructed after moving over to Kadwaha (Mattamayūrapura).[13] It might have served as a shelter (*vāsasthāna*) for disciples, acolytes, Siddhas and peripatetic, vagrant mendicants of the Siddhānta sect; the mendicants among them find mention as *yāyāvarāṇāṃ*.[14] The Chandrehe monastery, unlike those of Ranod, Kadwaha and Surwaya has no fortification and is described both as *āśrama* and *maṭha* in its inscription. The *maṭhikā* at Chunari is a modest example while that at Kodal, in its cloistered visage with pillared galleries and a courtyard, is an elaboration on the basic Ranod/Chunari plan with silos and an underground vault in addition.

Historically, the beginnings of the series of Siddhāntika monastic centres may be traced back to the seventh century with the founding of a '*guhā* (cave) in a 'grove of Kadamba trees' which came to be known as Kadambaguhā).[15] This *guhā* eventually developed into a full-fledged monastic establishment with its line of ascetics. The Ranod and other inscriptions from the region suggest that starting with Kadambaguhādhivāsī, *maṭhas* were founded in quick succession without let till the 11th century, but more aggressively between the 7th and 10th centuries. The last of the *maṭhas*/*āśramas* in Gopācala was built at Budhi Chanderi in *c.* 1042-43 CE.[16] However, the process of founding the monasteries began as locations in the *tapovanas* were appropriated by particular *sthānapati*s (descending from Kadambaguhādhivāsī). Such appropriation is explicitly proclaimed by Pataṅgaśambhu in respect of the seat he had 'acquired by [the prowess of] his arms' (*svabhujopārjita*).[17] Once the *muni*s, along with their disciples, successfully carved out those spaces and got securely established, their seats proliferated into monasteries[18] and eventually got reorganised into clusters. The different monasteries in the cluster took their own trajectories of growth in time. One such cluster consisted of the seats at Kadwaha, Surwaya, Terambi, Āmardaka, Araṇipadra and Madhumatī. In this group, Āmardaka (Amrol) turned into a *tīrtha* as Surwaya, Araṇipadra and Kadambaguhā grew into fortresses. The *āśrama* of Prabodhaśiva near Chanderi on the Urvaśī (Orr) River figured in this cluster, later. The erudite and famed ascetics of Madhumatī fanned out to establish another cluster of retreats at Gurgi, Chandrehe, Bilhari, Maihar and Tripurī.

---

[12] Cf., Monier Williams, sv. *vasati*.

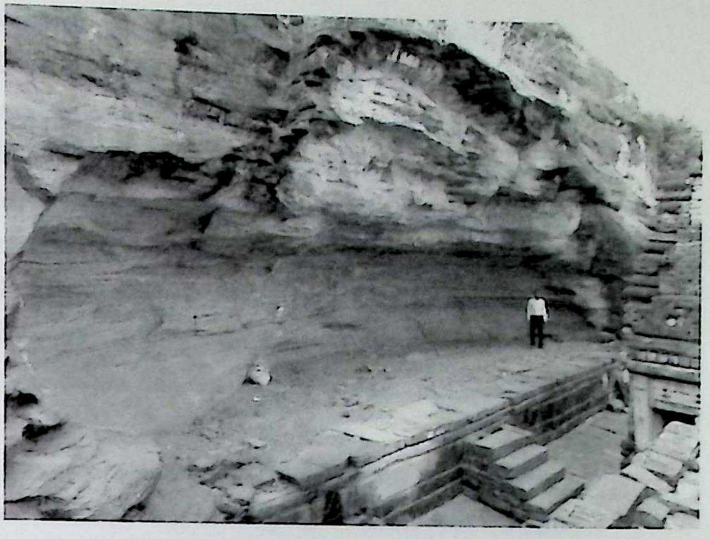
[13] *E.I.*, 1, p. 355, vv. 15, 14.

[14] Mirashi (1955): 338, v.28.

[15] Mirashi (1955): 213, v. 48. An example of such a *guhā* may be seen at Naresar (District Morena).

[16] Cf., Jain and Trivedi (1976): 87.

[17] The Gwalior Museum inscription is explicit about Pataṅgaśambhu acquiring his *sthāna* in that way: *svabhubhujopārjitaṃ sthānaṃ yah kṛtvā munipuṅgavaḥ*, Mirashi (1974) 182, v.39. For his works see: *ibid*, pp.180-182 vv. 28, 29-37, 39-40. The term *svabhubhujopārjitaṃ* implies an act of valour, in a power struggle. The expression is conventionally reserved for rulers who carved out their kingdom and rose to glory by their own efforts. Compare this with almost similar expressions like *bhujabala vijita* or *bāhubhyām avanīṃ vijitvā* (Fleet 1963: 54, lines 13, 14) or *svabhuja vijita* or *svabhuja bala parākrama* (Fleet 1963: 6, lines 11, 17) that denote conquest in political terms. The inscription is however silent about specificity of his 'valour'.



Pl. 2. The cave (*guhā*) at Naresar.

In most of the instances, the locations of the ascetics' penance in the *vana* or *tapovana* were chosen and developed independent of any support from the contemporary rulers.[19] In their growth the *maṭhas* and their ascetics shared the woodlands with *āṭavika* communities. Some reorganization of *maṭhas* was undertaken during Purandara's time (*c.* 825 CE) as two such centres were securely established at Kadwaha and Ranod.[20] Some of the pre-existing *tapasthāna* had grown in strength by his time and were branching out too.

Yet another cluster with a *guhā*, monastery and temples came up north of Gwalior at Naresar (anc. Naleśvara), Batesar and Padhavali. None of these sites contains a *maṭha* now. Batesar and Padhavali have been subjected to extensive conservation and salvage work, which has severely impacted the evidence. It is not unlikely that the extant hunting lodges of Naresar and Batesar were built on ancient structures such as a *guhā*, *vasati*, or *tapasthāna* of the Siddhānta *munis*. With some diligence one may discern monastery-like structures in the surviving remains at these sites. Naresar, with its works distributed on the different levels of its hillock, has today a hunting lodge, the remnants of elaborate defences, and a vast cave (*guhā*, **Pl. 2**) near the temples on the middle level, a pond surrounded by several shrines at the top level of the hillock and a large lake below, beyond the gorge, which ensured perennial water supply at the site. Batesar similarly has a stepped-tank along with a lofty structure with loopholes in the pierced walls. In Padhavali,[21] a truncated *raṅgamaṇḍapa* now exists on the north side of a fortified enclosure. It was built on an elegantly carved *jagatī* (125 × 72 feet) that is 17.75 feet in height.[22] Excluding the fortification that came up in the eighteenth century,[23] the *raṅgamaṇḍapa* and the elaborate *jagatī* are contemporary and they eminently represent the remains of a once huge complex extensive enough to rest on the wide *jagatī* (125 × 72 feet). This complex probably represented not a temple but a monastic complex with a *raṅgamaṇḍapa*[24] for festivals and celebrations. It may be suggested that the Batesar group of temples, nearby, was a part of this complex and even Naresar could be included in this cluster.

---

[18] *Infra*, pp. 115-116, for such details about Ranod.

[19] This would be true of monastic centres of Kadwaha, Surwaya, Terahi, Amrol (*Āmardakatīrtha*), Ranod, Madhumatī, Budhi Chanderi, Chandrehe and possibly also for Indor, Thubon, Chunari and Kodal. The monasteries at Gurgi, Bilhari and Maihar were built and supported with royal grant of villages to the monasteries and their presiding *ācāryas*.

[20] *E.I.*, 1, p. 355, vv.14-15.Perhaps Kadambaguhā of Kadambaguhādhivāsī, like Ranod, also suffered deacy till Purandara restored its glory when he arrived there.

Architecturally, the beginnings of most of the monasteries as they stand today may be dated between the 8th and 11th centuries, but as seats of Śaivite sages, some of them could go back to times before the 8thcentury (**Table 1**). The monasteries were not always a one-time construction; they developed and flourished, absorbing additions in time. Thus, Kadwaha started in *c.* 675 CE as a simple retreat (*guhā*) but in time, it grew up into a three-storeyed, fortified structure. The monastery at Ranod too developed similarly. The available evidence of temples and statuary and of some epigraphs indicates that by the early ninth century, the region from Padhavali and Amrol in Morena-Gwalior districts to Kadwaha in Ashoknagar District (near Chanderi) had firmly come under Siddhānta ascetics' sway.

ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES

In terms of their architecture, the monasteries taxonomically seem to evince at least six types as follows:

---

[21] Ancient Paḍhapalī, according to the pillar inscriptions of VS 1560 and 1565 in the *maṇḍapa*, as deciphered by Dr. S.K Dwivedi.

[22] The *jagatī* is a five-to-seven course structure made of *pīṭha*, *kumbha*, decorative bands of *ratnakas*, *ardha-padma*, a frieze of garlands and finally *ardha-ratnakas*, one above the other, with sunken spaces in between and a *kapotapālī* and a decorative band above. The ubiquitous course of these bands was interrupted at regular intervals by immaculate *rathikās*, now empty, with base, side pillars and corrugated *chādya*, which has *udgama* above it. A fortress of the 18th century sits on the *jagatī*, enclosing and enveloping the *raṅgamaṇḍapa* of the 10th century.

[23] Deva, Krishna (1995): 175

[24] *Ibid.* Krishnadeva describes it as a "temple [with] only the *raṅgamaṇḍapa* and a porch...with ornate pillars carrying architraves and ceilings exquisitely embellished with figural friezes and decorative ornaments". The structure does not seem to us to represent a temple because it has no place for a shrine (*garbhagṛha*) on any side; the terminal points ending into a cell are not traceable on any of the sides: east, west and south. The north side ends with fortification and the flight of steps there has been added lately. The ambiance of celebration is writ large in the statuary of the *maṇḍapa*, which shows worship of *linga*, processions, caravans and other such scenes, all of which indicate that it was a site for celebrations.

1. a cave, natural or hewn out of rock or within a grove which served for meditation, penance as well as assembly (Naresar; Kadwaha: now extinct *guhā* phase),
2. an arrangement of elements comprising an open courtyard with pillared corridors (*vīthī*), a single entrance, and a key cell or a *pīṭhikā* within a central chamber flanked by two adjoining rectangular chambers (Surwaya: south-western corner, Ranod: ground floor),
3. a pillared porch (*praggrīvaka*), a closed rectangular *maṇḍapa* and triple cells in a horizontal row (Chunari);
4. an entrance, *vīthī*(s), and a courtyard with cells/chambers radiating around the courtyard (Kadwaha, ground floor);
5. a combination of all the features of (4) above but with an elaborate porch (*praggrīvaka*) abutting the open *maṇḍapa* that contained the entrance (Terahi, Chandrehe), and finally:
6. a pillared *vīthī* leading to the doorways of three cells located in a row at the rear of the building, and more cells with pillared corridors on either side of the three central cells (Kodal).

In two examples (4 and 5 above), the northeastern corner of the *maṭha* represents a privileged space meant perhaps for *dīkṣā* rites and rituals. In case of Kodal, the *maṭha* contains silos for harvested grains and vaults for keeping wealth. Besides, the *maṭhas* of Surwaya, Terahi, Kadwaha and Chandrehe represent *harmyas* (mansion, palace) with upper storeys.

The *Harṣacarita* describes *ālinda* (barracks), *kakṣyā* (base court), *bāhyasthāna maṇḍapa* (commoners' assembly), *ajira* (court), *muktāsthāna maṇḍapa* (an assembly hall for the elite), *praggrīvaka* (porch), *catuḥśāla* (cells on ground floor around the court), *vīthī* (gallery),[25] *vātāyana* (window), *prāsāda-kukṣi* (presence chamber), *śayanagṛha* (retiring chamber), *saudha* (pavilion), *vāsagṛha* (living room), *vastrāgāra* (store for clothes), *kāṣṭhāgāra* (store for fire wood), *granthāgāra* (library), *āhāramaṇḍapa* (dining enclosure), *pratihāragṛha* (guards' cell) etc., as parts of a palace (*dhavala gṛha*) of rulers.[26] These terms might be of relevance in respect of the *maṭhas* too for they were supposed to be built like palaces.[27] The *Harṣacarita* list may complement the *Aparājitapṛcchā*'s *maṭha*-specific synoptic details in this regard. The *Aparājitapṛcchā*[28] requires *maṭhas* to be composed of different *maṇḍapas* (halls), e.g., *satramaṇḍapa* (dining hall), *agraśālā* (assembly hall) and *vidyāvyākhyāna maṇḍapa* (hall for discourse). It also recommends that a *maṭha* should be constructed 'towards the southern boundary of the temple,[29] with gardens all around. The directional orientation of the temples *vis-à-vis* the *maṭha*, as recommended in the text, is found adhered to in the Siddhānta *maṭhas*.

---

[25] Among its other meanings, the term *vīthī* also implies a covered veranda around a courtyard in a palace, cf., Agrawala, Vasudeva Sharan (1966): 215.

[26] Cf. Agrawala, V.S. (1964): 211-216. Figures: 27-28. The list is based on *Mahābhārata*, *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Saundarānanda*, *Mṛcchakaṭika*, *Pādatāḍitakaṃ*, *Dvāyśrava Kāvya*, etc. The *Pṛthvīcandra Carita* (of 1421 CE) includes the *maṭha* in the list and architectural elements of a structural complex.

[27] Cf. Sanderson (2009): 261-262 fn.616, quoting *Mayasaṃgraha* 5. 182ab and *Piṅgalamata*.

[28] Dubey, Lal Mani (1987): 188.

If we assume that the monasteries evolved from simple to complex forms, the first three forms (see above), as at Naresar, Surwaya (south western corner), Ranod and Chunari could represent the basic plan representing a *maṭhikā*, built structurally and composed of multiple components, like *vīthī*, pillars and cells/chambers. Before that, the *guhā* of Naresar and Kadwaha—the latter now extinct as it was probably merged into the extant *maṭha*—would represent the 'non-structural' phase of monastic retreats. Purandara (825 CE) built the Ranod *maṭha* emulating the south-western *maṭhikā* (of Śankhamaṭhikādipati: *c.*700 CE) of Surwaya that preceded him. The similarity between the plans of the Ranod *maṭha* and Surwaya's *maṭhikā* seems to establish this connection.[30] The locations of monasteries have other histories too, not particularly related to Siddhānta Śaivism. Of relevance to us here is their Śaivite history and the succeeding *muni*s in the *maṭha*s, as mentioned in epigraphs. We start with Kadwaha.

KADWAHA: HISTORY AND *MAṬHA* ARCHITECTURE

The 'venerable Kadambaguhā' (*Kadambaguhā mānyā*) came into reckoning with Kadambaguhādhivāsī in *c.* 675 CE. Inscriptions confirm that it remained in prominence for nearly a millennium till VS 1587/1529 CE, notwithstanding occasional vicissitudes in its fortunes.[31] The ascetic lineage continued here even as its scions moved to other locations.[32] The site came to be known both as Kadambaguhā and Mattamayūrapura which names appear interchangeably in later inscriptions.[33]

---

[29] *Ibid.* Although alternatives are not ruled out in the text, the placement of temples to the north of the monasteries is apparent at Kadwaha, Surwaya, Terahi, Chandrehe, Kodal and Chunari. The monastic temples of Bilhari, Gurgi, Bheraghat-Tripuri and Chunari have disappeared; so have the monasteries at Amrol, Mahua (Madhumatī), Gurgi, Bilhari, Maihar, Bheraghat-Tripuri and Chanderi, and possibly at Batesar and Naresar. Naresar has a *guhā* by the side of the temples and Padhavali is left only with a *raṅgamaṇḍapa.*

[30] In the Ḍāhala region Chunari would precede Chandrehe (973 CE). Considering that it follows the Ranod-Surwaya (first phase) plan with some modification it may be dated in the early tenth century.

[31] Pilgrims visited it at least till VS 1587. Cf. Willis, (1996):45. The settlements at Kadwaha survived despite bloody battle involving the monastery and its ascetic Dharmasiva, *E.I.* 37, p. 120. It suffered other onslaughts later also in the 14th century. Local inscriptions refer to the *sati*s at Kadwaha, i.e. the wives respectively of a cobbler (*camāra*) a milkman (*ahir*), a *raut* and a nameless person, who committed *sati* in VS 1451, 146 (?) 146 (?) and 1476, during the reigns of Mahmud Shah Tughlaq (1413 CE) and Dilawar Khan (1390 to 1405 CE). Cf. Willis (1996): 27-29.

[32] *Supra*, pp. 41-53.

[33] Kadambaguhā was twice occupied, first by Kadambaguhādhivāsī in *c.* 675 CE and then again

Historically, the *maṭha* has a battle-scarred history[34] like that of Terahi. There was a period of uncertainty following the armed encounter involving its *ācārya* Dharmaśiva which led to displacement of his disciples. The Budhi Chanderi inscription of 1042-43 CE laconically hints at this.[35] But the *maṭha* managed to survive under a new *ācārya* who succeeded the warrior monk.

The genealogy of the sages of Kadwaha as described in different inscriptions including the Kadwaha fragmentary record covers the period from *c.* 675 CE through Purandara (*c.* 825 CE) to 11thcentury. Certain label inscriptions laconically describe the people and events connected to the place. A tenth-century image inscription here refers to *bhaṭṭāraka śrī* Vakrasādhu.[36] He could be a Śaivite *ācārya* as the title *bhaṭṭāraka* occurs elsewhere for such an ascetic.[37] Another inscription, found on a slab in the *maṭha* at Kadwaha, offers obeisance to Gaṇapati and mentions the *maṭha* as *go-surālaya* (abode of cows and gods).[38] An inscription of VS 1450 found on a slab in a temple at Kadwaha refers to a gift by a Śaivite *brāhmaṇa* to another *brāhmaṇa*, indicating that religious activities continued here and pilgrims did not stop visiting this centre of pilgrimage.[39]

Pilgrims' records by the scores here from VS 1466 to VS 1587 refer to different pilgrims – *brāhmaṇa*s, *kāyastha*, *rāuts* (*rājaputras*), *ṭhakkura*s (chieftains), a pilgrim from Ranthambhor and others – visiting this sacred place sometimes accompanied by members of their families. The last recorded instance of a Śaivite pilgrim visiting the site dates to the sixteenth century.[40] The 'barbarians' did not dent the glory of Kadwaha as a centre of pilgrimage though it did face nineteen assaults. Bhūteśvara (VS 1366/1316 CE), an ascetic famous as *tapodhana* ('wealthy of

---

in *c.* 825 CE by Purandara who came to be designated as Mattamayūranātha after the renamed settlement of Mattamayūrapura. Mirashi(1955):213, v. 49. For inscriptions alternatively recalling its lineage associated either with Kadambaguhā or Mattamayūrapura, cf. Mirashi (1955):200, v. 4; 220, vv. 48 ff.

[34] *Supra*, p. 71.

[35] *Infra*, p. 124.

[36] Willis (1996):112. The name is written on the foot of an image un-earthed in debris of *Garhi*. Cf., Singh, A.K., in *Pragdhara* 10, p. 236, quoting *Gwalior Administrative Report* for Samvat 1996, p. 29, *ARIE* for 1975-76, p. 98. C. 1435.

[37] In the Dhureti Plates of Trailokyamalla, dated in 1212 CE the royal preceptor Vimalaśiva II is titled as *bhaṭṭāraka*. Cf., Mirashi (1955): 372, lines 17-18.

[38] Willis (1996): 9. The inscription, dated in VS 1234, indicates presence of cows as well as *suras* (gods) in the activities of the *maṭha*; *sura* here could possibly imply ascetics deified because the *maṭha* did not have image of gods! It would also indicate presence of cows in the *maṭha* unlike Ranod where the inscription speaks of only elephants and horses. However, elephants were offered to the monastery by Harirāja when he received initiation.

[39] *Ibid*, p.27. The donor is mentioned as a devotee of Śiva.

[40] *Ibid*, p. 113.It refers to *ṭhakkura* Majūdeva, a devotee of Śiva in the sixteenth century. The inscription is engraved on the same slab that contains other records respectively of VS 1479 and 1504.

penance'), performed penance and restored the base (*jalādhāra*) of the Śiva-*linga* of the chief shrine (*mūlāyatana*) despoiled during one of these attacks.[41] Kadwaha/Mattamayūrapura continued to receive the attention of people, ascetics, pilgrims and rulers until the sixteenth century.[42]

Inscriptions from Kadwaḥa dating from VS 1466/1409-10 CE to VS 1504/1447 CE refer to the (Tughlaq) Sultans of Yoginipura (Delhi)[43] and the Sultans of Mandu who were vying for supremacy over the region.[44] The Mandu Sultans ultimately succeeded in holding on to the region. A 1470 CE (30 June) pillar inscription records a governor of Ghiyasuddin Shah Khilji (1469-1500) of Malwa excusing *jizia* worth 4800 *tanka*s in respect of herdsmen and tribal communities, among other residents of the region.[45] The concession confirms that the practice of granting favours by potentates to the *āṭavika* communities continued in the region till as late as the 15th century.

Kadwaha did not remain untouched by political events happening nearby while Śaivism flourished here with the support of sages, rulers, pilgrims, devotees and people at large. The Caulukyas, Later Pratihāras and Yājvapālas held sway over this tract in that order till the early fourteenth century, after which the Yājvapālas withered away. They were followed by Alauddin Khalji (VS 1366), Mahmud Shah Tughlaq (VS 1451) of Delhi, Dilawar Khan of Malwā (VS 146... (?)) and Sultan Mahmud Khalji (VS 1504), when Kadwaha's religious sanctity and Śaivite character had still survived. It had became a *pargana* in VS 1403 when a *gumashta* named *malika* Sahib Khan and two others namely *malika*s Sahan and Khushdil were stationed here.[46] Nevertheless, it remained a pilgrimage centre till at least the sixteenth century when a pilgrim is found to have recorded his visit here.[47]

---

[41] *Ibid.*, p. 22.

[42] Cf. Singh, Arvind Kumar, "Inscriptions from Kadwaha", *Pragdhara* 10, pp. 229-239. Willis (1996): 28-31; 39; 43-45; 113.

[43] *Ibid*, p. 23, 25, 27: inscriptions of VS 1387, 1400, 1451. Chanderi-Narwar region had come under the Delhi Sultans before the Sultans of Mandu took over the region. In the meanwhile, the Sultans of Delhi overran the region. Iltutmish had subjugated the Yājvapāla Cāhaḍa (1230-54 CE), cf. Sircar (1983): 656: joint issue of a Cāhaḍa-Iltutmish coin. The Yājvapālas were feudatories of Chauhans and ruled from Narwar. They had their presence at Kadwaha too. Cf. Willis (1996): 14, 21: inscriptions of VS 1326, 1351 which refer to Yājvapālas Gopāla, Jayatavarman, Sāhasamalla and Mālacanda. Of these, the *mahākumāra* Sāhasamalla is mentioned at Surwaya too. Cf. Willis (1996): 20.

[44] *Ibid*, p. 22, 27, 29: inscriptions of VS 1366, two others of Dilawar Khan's time (1390-1405) and two more of VS 1504.

[45] The inscription is in Persian and Sanskrit, written in *Nashkh* and *Nāgarī* characters and is now deposited in the Archaeological Museum of Chanderi (Acc. 111/2004). It is in favour of those categories living in the *pargana* and *shiq* of Chanderi.

[46] Willis (1996): 14, 112, 31, 22, 27.

[47] *Ibid.* p. 113.

Kadwaha thus has a multi-faceted history. It was a holy destination, with its Śaivite sanctity and undisputed centrality in the Śaiva-Siddhānta movement. Above all, it stood out as a centre that propagated and energetically promoted expansion of the Mattamayūra ascetics for centuries locally and in the territories that lay far beyond.[48]

The Mattamayūrapura *maṭha*, as it stands today, seems to be a ninth-century construction to start with. It was built for Purandara (*c.* 825 CE) and in this act the pre-existing *guhā* of Kadambaguhādhivāsī apparently got merged into the new *maṭha*. Information about constructions here is available only in fragments but it does help in tracing the developments. Thus, the Kadwaha Fragmentary inscription speaks of a growing *āśrama* (*...tasyāśrame vardhayatas...*, verse 12) and Mirashi is inclined to read in it the 'foundation of another *maṭha*' at Kadwaha, other than the one extant today.[49] An eleventh century record (undated) from Kadwaha mentions 'building of some mansions' here.[50] Apart from the *mūlāyatana*[51] (temple) that stands beside the monastery in the monastic complex of Kadwaha, the epigraphic evidence lines up at least four works at the site, namely: the *guhā* of Kadambaguhadhivasī, the *maṭha* for Purandara by Avantivarman, an *āśrama* implied in the Kadwaha Fragmentary inscription (v.12) and the 'mansions' built during the time of Īśvaraśiva and Bhīma. In all probability, all these works except Īśvaraśiva's 'mansion' refer to one and the same hallowed structure, i.e. the *maṭha* that came up by transforming the pre-existing *guhā* and developing in different stages, by periodic additions. The additions after Purandara (825 CE) probably came between the times of the warrior monk Dharmaśiva (last quarter of 9th century) or his successor and Harirāja (*c.* 984-997 CE), when another storey was added to the ground floor of the *maṭha*. The 'mansions' built by Īśvaraśiva could possibly have come up in the first quarter of the 11th century during the the time of Bhīma, the Later Pratihāra; but there is no trace left of them now. The *maṭha* continued to grow through vicissitudes all through. A third storey, now surviving in fragments, was added sometime before 1316 CE, the date when Bhūteśvara renovated the shrine (*mūlāyatana*) that stands to the north of the *maṭha*.[52]

---

[48] The branches of Mattamayūrapura *maṭha* flourished respectively at Raṇipadra (*c.* 825 CE; *E.I.*, 1, p. 355, v. 15) and also at Madhumatī (Mirashi 1955: 202, vv. 5-6), where Śikhāśiva "the lord of Madhumatī" is described as a descendant of Purandara (II) of the Mattamayūras.Yet another branch of the Mattamayūras is known from Karkaroni, in the Konkan region of Maharashtra in 1008-09. It is described as having "sprung from the Mattamayūra *anvaya*" (*śrī mattamayūra anvaya prasūta*), and "belonging to the fold of the Mattamayūra lineage (*śrīmān mattamayūra antargata karkaroni santāna*). Cf. *E.I.* 3, p. 301, lines 51-53.

[49] *E.I.* 37, p. 118, fn.1, verse 12

[50] Willis (1996): 112.

[51] *Ibid*, p. 22: the inscription dated VS 1366 is later than the temple.

[52] Garde, following epigraphic details, assigned its construction to the fifteenth century when Malwa came under the Malwa Sultans and Sears seems to accept Garde's suggestion. Cf. Sears, Tamara I (2009): 23f.

The *maṭha* witnessed fortification in the last decade of the 13th century when walls (*prākāra/prācīra*), walks, a Guard's room (?) on the north and three towers on other sides were built to secure it. This was apparently done in the wake of several military expeditions in the region when many important habitation centres were fortified in quick succession. The threat came both from rivalries between the Candellas and Yājvapālas and from the aspiring Sultans. The Later Pratihāras seem to have come to an end by mid-thirteenth century after Jaitravarman.[53] This happened as the Tughlaq Sultans of Delhi and the Khiljis of Mandu were vying for supremacy over the region. Ulugh Khan (Balban) had attempted to subjugate Gwalior, Chanderi and Narwar in 1251 CE. A bitter battle was fought between the forces of Candella Vīravarman (his dates range between 1261 and 1284 CE) and Yājvapāla Gopāladeva (*c.* 1279-89 CE) at Bangla (near Picchor) in Shivpuri Dist. in 1281 CE.[54] The Bangla memorial inscriptions repeatedly refer to the Nalapura *durga* (fort) which was already in existence in 1281 CE. In the battles at Bangla, the *muni*s seem to have aligned with *bhaṭa*s, admiring a warrior who fell in battle and earned the accolades of ascetics (*munibhiḥ sanstutaḥ*).[55]

In such an unsettling situation, those with power and resources tried to dig in and secure their holdings. Chanderi was fortified in the twelfth century by the Later Pratihāra chief Kīrtipāla (1145-1168).[56] Under the Yājvapālas, Narwar was fortified by 1281[57] and Surwaya in 1291.[58] In the midst of such building activity, Kadwaha, a major religious centre with its immense material resources, did not lag behind. As in Surwaya so in Kadwaha, fortification of the monastery was carried out sometime around 1291-93 CE thanks to the Yājvapālas whose presence is noted at Kadwaha in VS 1351.[59] That Kadwaha was under threat is proved by repeated raids it was subjected to before 1316 CE when some restoration in the temple within the monastic complex was carried out.[60] When Ibn Batuta came to Kadwaha in

---

[53] After Harirāja, whose rule ended soon after VS 1055 (Thubon inscription of Harirāja) we have ten other rulers whose rule, lasting on average for twenty-five years for each, would see the end of the line by *c.* 1268 CE.

[54] This two-day fierce battle took place in VS 1338/ 1281 CE in Bangla on the bank of Balua (Vālukā) river. The site has yielded thirteen Hero Stones (Garde reported 16) recording death of warriors that included *rāṇaka*, *rājaputra*, *rājavīra* and *bhaṭa*s (*yuyudhe turagāruḍho nihatya subhaṭān bahūn*), archers (*dhanurdhara*) and warriors riding on horses. Trivedi, H.V. (1989): 579-585.

[55] Trivedi, H.V. (1989): 583, insc. 168, lines 5-9.

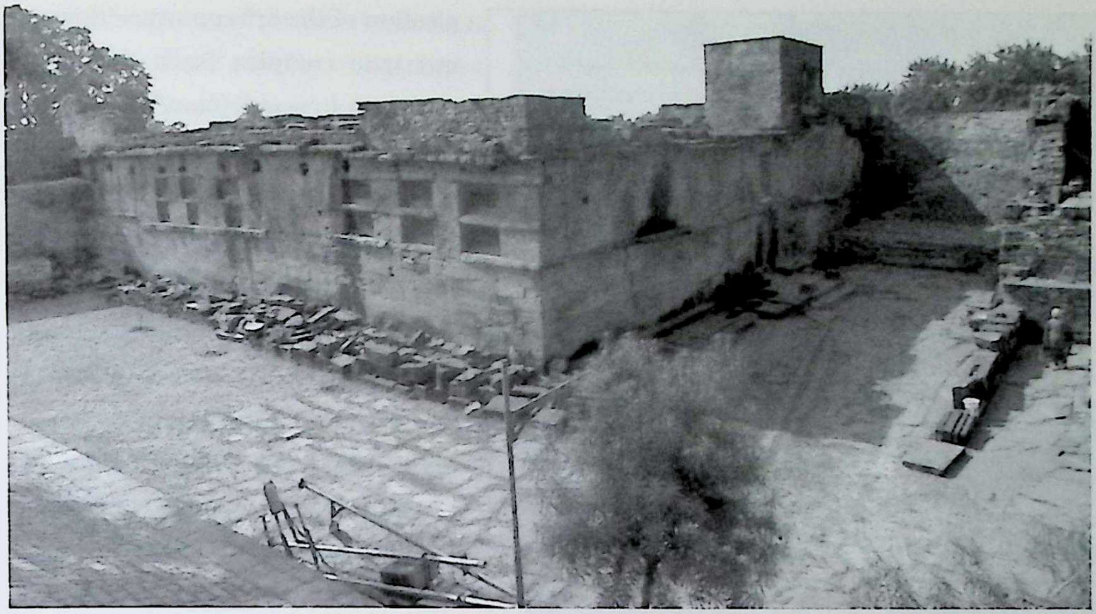
[56] Kīrtipāla got a *durga* built at Chanderi. He also excavated a lake and a built temple there. For these works, Cf., Singh, A.K (2007) 'Kadwaha Stone Inscription of the Time of Kīrtipāla', *Studies in Epigraphy*, Mysore: Epigraphical Society of India, Vol. 33, pp.169-176.

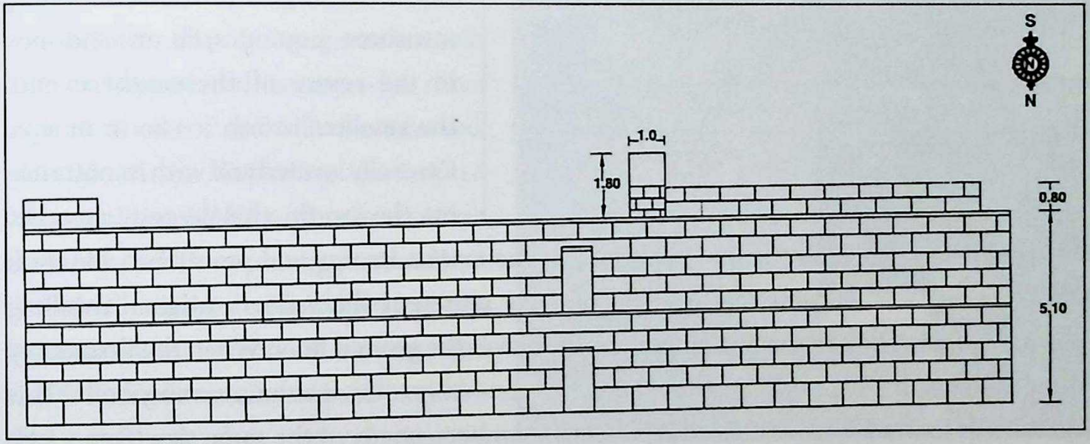
[57] The Bangla inscriptions refer to the Nalapura *durga* repeatedly. It was already in existence by 1281 CE when Vīravarman Candella had launched an attack on Gopāladeva. Cf. Trivedi (1989) VII, 3, pp. 579-82, 84-85.

[58] Cf. Willis (1996): 20, the inscription of VS 1350 refers to construction of the fort gate, indicating that the fort was already complete by this time.

[59] *Ibid.*

[60] *Supra*, p. 86.





Above:
Pl. 3. The *maṭha* at Kadwaha.

Below:
Fig. 1. The Kadwaha *maṭha*, front elevation.

1342 CE, the *maṭha* had been converted into a *ribat*.[61] The turn of events would indicate that the ascetics were no match for the new challenges and the monastery was not secure now despite earlier fortification, as the Delhi and Malwa Sultans aspired to control this region.

As it exists today, the *maṭha* (Pl. 3) is a three-storeyed structure (Fig. 1: Elevation) and measured from the south-western corner of the fortification it occupies a space of 28 × 25.20 m. It is situated in a large compound measuring 37 × 66.5 m and is enclosed within a 13th century fortification. It has a temple to its north and a dilapidated mosque, built later, lies in front of the temple. The fortification around the *maṭha* has three towers and a guards' enclosure on its sides. The entry into the complex is from the eastern side. A pillared

---

[61] For Ibn Batuta's visit to Kadwaha, transformation of the *maṭha* into a *ribat* and other modifications at Kadwaha under the Sultans of Delhi and Malwa, cf., Sears, Tamara I (2009): 9-31.

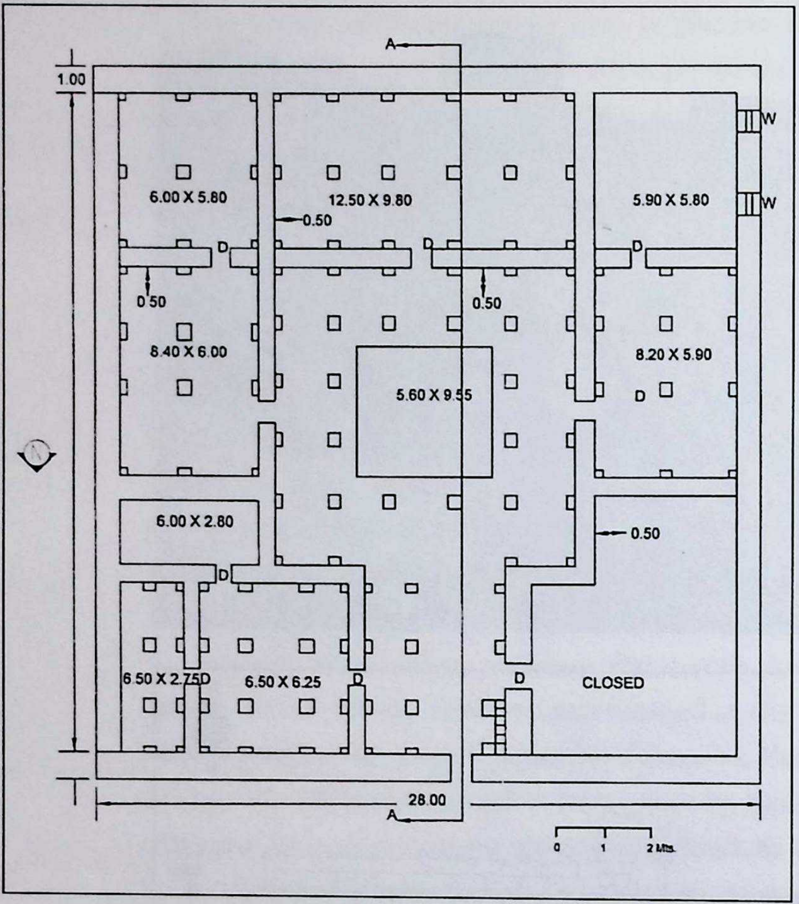


Fig. 2. The Kadwaha *maṭha*, ground floor plan.

pavilion of the 14th century within the monastic complex leads through a ramp to a step-well (*baoli*).[62]

On the ground floor (**Fig. 2**), the northern face of the monastery has an entrance leading to a pillared passage which ends in a centrally placed, open courtyard, paved but at a lower level, surrounded by two rows of pillars on four sides which configure elevated, colonnaded *vīthīs* all around (**Pl. 4**).

The pillared cells and chambers of different dimensions are arranged beyond these corridors on all four sides. The largest of these chambers measures 12.50 × 9.80 m and lies in the centre of the southern end; the smallest is 6.00 × 2.80 m in size. Centrally located and with its entrance on the north, this largest chamber faces the main entrance of the *maṭha*. Its size and prominent situation suggest that it could possibly represent the *ācārya's* original dwelling place (*vāsagṛha*) before the first storey was built over the ground floor. When the first storey came up later, this space on the ground floor was probably re-used as an assembly hall.[63] This chamber is flanked by two other independent chambers, nearly of the same size (6.00 × 5.80 and 5.90 × 5.80 m), that may be entered from the adjoining chambers respectively on the east and west wings of the *maṭha*. These chambers could have served as *granthāgāra* and *vastrāgāra* or as retreats and dormitories. It may be appropriate to describe them as chambers rather than cells because of their size.

In addition to these chambers, the ground floor has four other chambers and cells: two on the west wing: a large one (8.20 × 5.90 m) and also a closed one[64] at the end of the north-western corner, besides four others (8.40 × 6.00; 6.00 × 2.80; 6.50 × 2.75; 6.50 × 6.25 m) in a group aligned together on the east wing including the north-eastern corner. All the cells in the east wing, excepting one, are smaller, varying in size, but interconnected. As such, they could be considered to have formed the core for exclusive ritual activities like *dīkṣā* or, for use on the occasion of festivals when the temple in the compound outside would have been the focal point.[65]

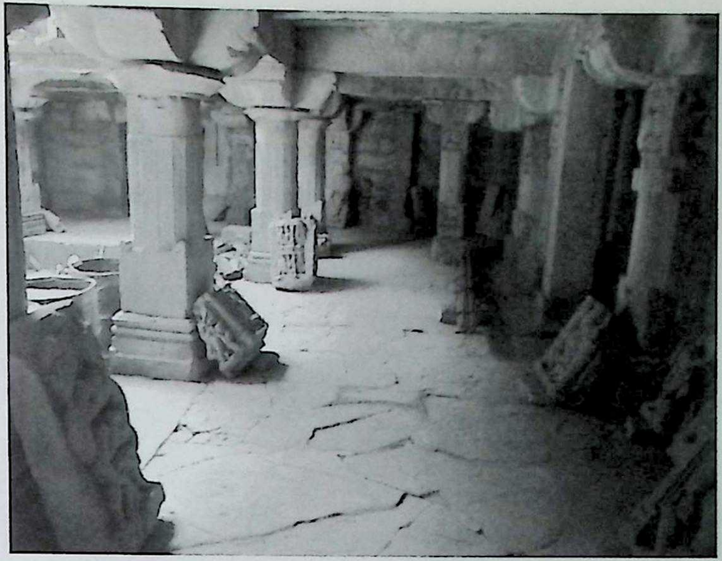
---

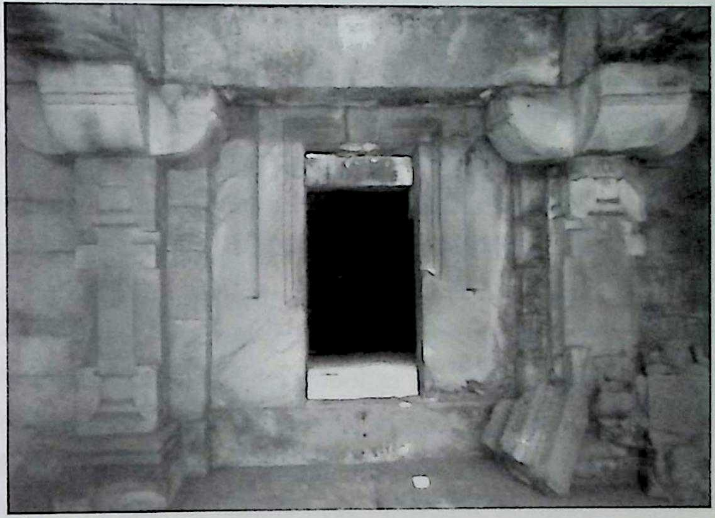
[62] The ramp has been exposed recently and the clearing work was in progress when the site was revisited on March 16, 2015.

[63] When the first storey came up, the *ācāryas* probably occupied its two-celled, distinguished-looking chamber located on its south-western corner. This two-celled set is preceded by an open space and entry to it is through the adjoining chamber to its north. The distinctive status of this set is indicated by carved but un-sculpted doorways on entry points and shelves inside.

[64] A revisit to the *maṭha* in March 2015 afforded an opportunity to look at this chamber. The chamber looked like a self-contained unit, dark inside. It contains two other cells, one on its western wall

All chambers have only one doorway except that the one to the left of the main entrance has three, two of which connect it to the adjoining smaller cells that perhaps served as stores for ritual objects. Some of the cells have carved, plain doorways displaying un-sculpted *peḍya*, *lalāṭa*, *śākhā* and *udumbara* on them (**Pl. 5**). This would suggest that even though the artists were skilled enough in conventional doorway carving, and consummately used their skill on the shrine doorways they were not required to use it on the doorways of cells/chambers in the monastery. They superficially indented the doorways of the selected cells and chambers only to mark distinction in the status of their occupants.





Above:
Pl. 4. Kadwaha *maṭha*, elevated, colonnaded *vīthī* on ground floor.

Below:
Pl. 5. Kadwaha *maṭha*, plain doorway of a cell.

The cells and chambers had wooden doors. The mortices, which carried struts of such doors are seen on the inner sides of entrances. Dressed slabs, serving as veneer, cover the stonework on the inner walls of chambers. Ceilings are made of large slabs resting on plain architraves supported by pillars and their brackets. The pillars on the ground floor evince *rucaka* and *bhadraka* forms apart from the other plain ones. The *rucaka* pillars comprise a shaft, square in section, rising from a ponderous base up to massive brackets that carry huge architraves

---

and the other to its south. Both these cells have their respective doorways.

[65] We could not view some portions of the monastery as they were closed.

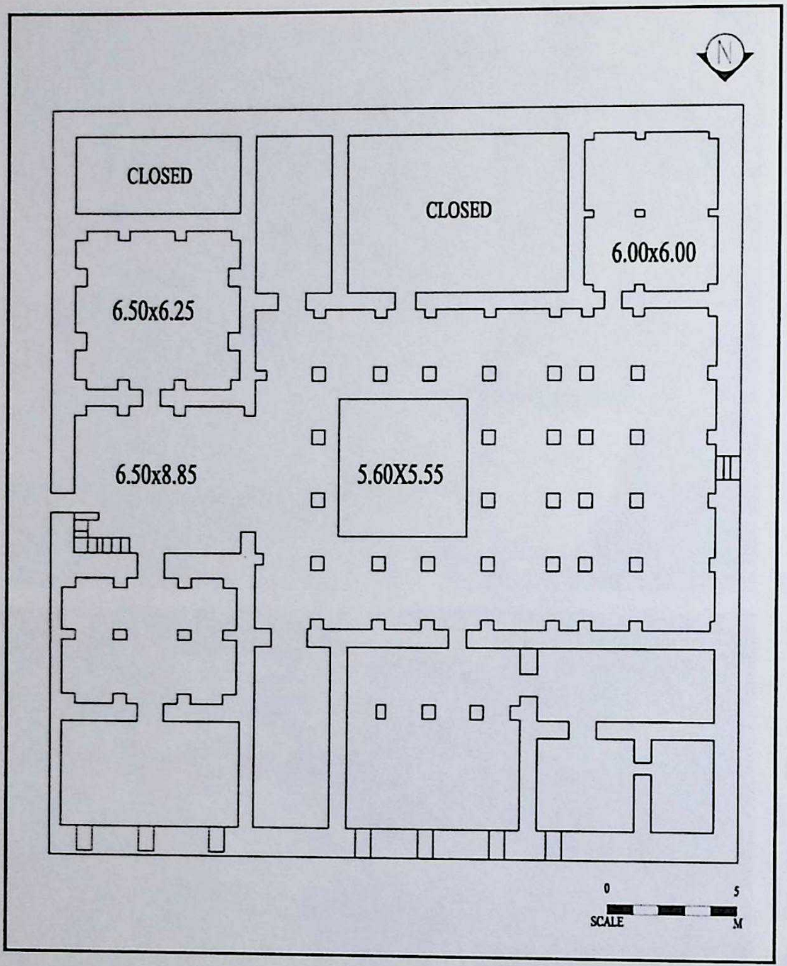


Fig. 3. Kadwaha *maṭha* first floor plan.

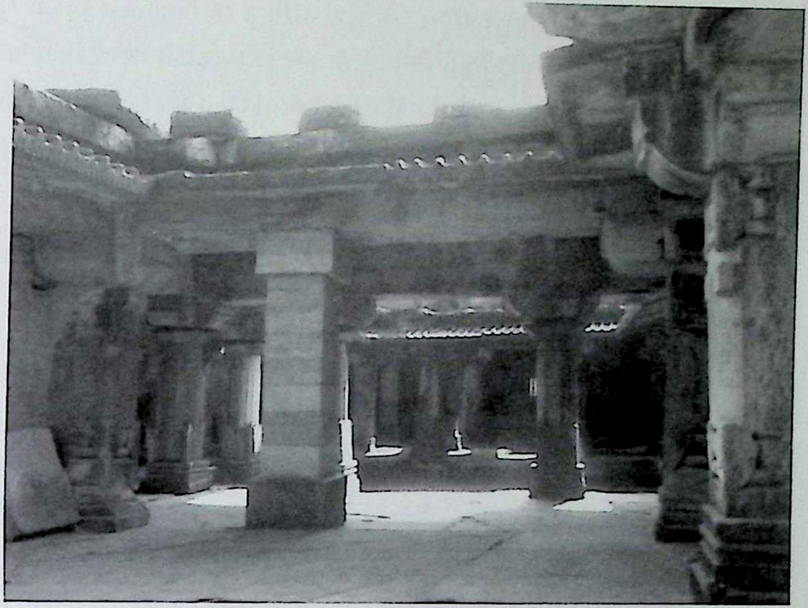
(*prastaras*) supporting the ceiling above. The *bhadraka* pillars have a stepped base, the *ghaṭa-pallava* design above it and at the top, besides a *bhadra* projection on the shaft. The third type of pillars has a stepped base followed by a square *pīṭha* and a sixteen-sided shaft surmounted by an edged circular capital, beyond which are the brackets and architraves. The pillars always have massive brackets with huge architraves to support the ceiling made of slabs.

The ground floor seems to have come up around *c.* 825 CE when Purandara came to occupy the *maṭha*. The pre-existing (Kadambaguhādhivasī's) *guhā* that represented the first stage apparently got merged into it. Following these stages, the third stage of the *maṭha* may relate to construction of its first storey, sometime between Dharmaśiva or his successor (the last quarter of the ninth century) and Harirāja (last quarter of tenth century). The variance in the size of stone blocks on the external walls of the ground floor and first floor clearly indicates these two distinct stages of construction of the *maṭha*.

The ground floor of the *maṭha* has a flight of steps on the north-eastern side, near the entrance, which lead to the first floor (**Fig.** 3) of the monastery through the first of its two open courtyards.

This first courtyard (6.50 × 8.85 m) is hemmed above by corrugated *chādyas* on all four sides (**Pl. 6**), has roofed corridors resting on pilasters on its flanks and a door opening to the north towards the temple.

There are chambers and cells of varying dimensions both to the east and west of this first courtyard. Of these, the pillared chamber (6.50 × 6.25) to the north has only pilasters supporting the roof and these represent the *ghaṭa-pallava* type with a stepped base. The area behind this chamber contains a small cell which was found closed at the time of our visit. As for the western side of the courtyard, a chamber, having *bhadraka* pillars and pilasters, leads to another chamber further west, through a carved, un-sculpted doorway. This other chamber has three grilled stone windows on the western end, a wall-to-wall stone shelf on the northern end and a floor with a sunken space on southern corner. This sunken space was perhaps meant for ablutions.



Pl. 6. Pillared courtyard, First Floor, the other courtyard in the background.

To the south of the first courtyard, this storey of the monastery has another centrally placed open courtyard (5.60 × 5.55 m) with corrugated *chādya*s on its edges all around. Overlooking the courtyard on the ground floor, this upper courtyard is surrounded by pillars and pilasters in two concentric squares forming colonnaded corridors on all four sides with chambers located on the eastern and western ends.[66] Behind the pillared corridor in the east, a chamber, (now closed), along with a rectangular cell adjoining it, have carved, un-sculpted doorways leading to the interior. Yet another chamber (measuring 6.00 × 6.00 m) on the south-eastern corner has a similar entrance. The southern wing of the first floor of the *maṭha* has two rows of pillars and corresponding pilasters on the back wall, which also has a *vātāyana* (window). The west wing has another chamber with three pillars and a pilaster. It is entered through the pillared corridor and has another door to the south that leads to what we identify as the *ācārya*'s two-celled corner with an open space in front. There is yet another small cell with a door adjacent to this three pillared chamber, similar in size and form to the cell of the corresponding portion on the east.

The space on the first floor on its southern end had two rows of four pillars in the middle and their corresponding pilasters on three sides. This space and the rest around the colonnaded corridors served either as circulation passage or led to other chambers. It was like a *prāsāda-kukṣi*[67](passage connecting the front with the rear) with a *vātāyana*. Its passage allowed freedom of movement inside, everywhere including the chambers of distinction that had carved doorways.[68] The southern wing of the first floor, especially its two-cell apartment on the south-western corner, with a rectangular open space in front, probably served the presiding *ācārya*'s dwelling in the *maṭha*. Situated behind the pillared galleries and offset by an open space in front, the *ācārya*'s cell was accessible through a graduated movement across corridors and a chamber. If the *ācārya* had chosen to be quartered here, he must have left his originally assigned location on the ground floor.

---

[66] The outer pillars towards the edge of the court may have had upright slabs placed between them to serve as a barricade and prevent falling down in the courtyard below. Such a barricading is in evidence on the first floor of the *maṭha* at Terahi, and it could have been applied at Kadwaha as well.

[67] For this term in Bāṇabhaṭṭa, cf, Agrawala (1964): 219.

[68] Some of the sections of the *maṭha* were closed and they remained un-verified in course of our visit to the site.

The first floor of the *maṭha* seems to have been the *ācārya*'s floor, a *harmyapṛṣṭha*,[69] in every way: for his living, penance, meditation and discourses, his meeting with and audience to visitors, including royal visitors and for performing other sundry duties and obligations.[70] Its chambers could represent not only dormitories but also spaces for *muktāsthāna maṇḍapa* (assembly hall), *granthāgāra* (library), *vastrāgāra*,[71] even an arsenal.[72] The exclusive temple outside the *maṭha* served the purpose of ritual performances and worship.

The pre-eminence of Kadwaha is not in doubt in the history of Siddhānta Śaivism. In course of somewhat less than a millennium from *c.* 675 CE to 1529-30 CE[73] it witnessed much, e.g., eminent ascetics; construction of an imposing *maṭha*, which became the hub of spiritual, commercial and political activities; elaborations and modifications; the construction of several groups of temples to the north, east and west of the village, inside the compound of the *maṭha* and near a pond (in the area now known as Murayat (*mūlāyatana?*); a fortification; a battle which saw an ascetic in action; patronage of and to a ruler who requested and received *dīkṣā* from an ascetic. The Delhi and Mandu Sultans attempted to alter its history, yet it continued to enjoy unmitigated glory as a place of pilgrimage despite modifications in its character. The pilgrims' records from VS 1466 to VS 1587 testify that its sanctity as a holy destination remained intact. It was sometimes disturbed but was reinforced by restorations. The Siddhāntika space of Kadwaha did not remain localized forever to the *maṭha* alone: it spread out far and wide: to the vicinities which were embellished with several temples; to distant places where people held it in veneration as a pilgrimage centre. It had power, pelf and glory but above all its pre-eminence lay in its being the fountain of the Siddhānta ascetics' diaspora and as the first exemplar of the unique phenomenon of woodland-based ascetics exercising their primacy over land, people and State. *Tapōvana* here seems to have won over the populated settlements in substance. That was before it turned into a *ribat* in the 16th century. Even so, it could not be dispossessed of its pre-eminence in the changed circumstances.[74]

---

[69] It signifies the upper storey of a palace and is mentioned by Aśvaghoṣa. Cf, Agrawal (1964): 215.

[70] The portion on the first floor of Kadwaha *maṭha* that we consider to be the *ācārya*'s two-cell corner was perched on a chamber (6.00 × 6.00 m) of the ground floor. This ground floor chamber too was designed like the other chamber on its northwestern corner. This arrangement came to our notice when we revisited the site in March 2015. The *ācārya*'s room has a pierced roof and the ante-room to it has a crude opening on the floor that could allow hoisting or lowering things up and down. Its purpose could not be convincingly made out. The cells were apparently reused for other purposes when the *maṭha* turned into a *ribat*.

[71] For these and other terms, cf, Agrawal (1964): 215-219

[72] *Supra*, p. 72.

[73] A VS 1587 inscription refers to a pilgrim to Kadwaha. Cf. Willis (1996): p. 45.

SURWAYA

After Kadwaha of Kadambaguhādhivāsī we move to Surwaya's (ancient Sarasvatīpattana), Śaṅkhamaṭhikā, the seat of his immediate successor Śaṅkhamaṭhikādhipati, its 'overlord'. The *adhipati* part of this assumed name has an authoritarian tone; but the name also suggests his having a '*maṭhikā*' (small monastery) at Sarasvatīpattana.[75] An inscription of vs 1341/1285 CE, of the time of the Yājvapāla ruler Gopāladeva, refers to Surwaya as a place where Sārasvata brāhmaṇas worshipped Śiva: *śrutismṛtītihāsapurāṇavijña yajñapradhāna-śivasannidhāna.*[76] Śiva and Sarasvatī (of Siddhānta Śaivism) besides the goddess Mahāruṇḍā[77] are invoked in an inscription dated vs 1350/1293 CE, from Surwaya.[78] The *maṭha*'s association with (Siddhānta) ascetics is confirmed by the *kaupīna*-clad, matted-locked, life-size figures carved on pillars in the *maṇḍapa* of the temple that stands to the north of the *maṭha*, adjacent to it. Significantly, the *maṭha* has a *śikhara* on its roof. This feature, seen only in this example among all other Siddhāntika *maṭhas*, may mark deification of its *ācārya*. Apparently, this would be in keeping with the 'lordship' of the *adhipati* of this *Śaṅkhamaṭhikā*. We identify the Surwaya monastery as *Śaṅkhamaṭhikā* on the basis of graffiti in the shape of *śaṅkha* (conch) on stone-blocks of the *maṭha*. There is however, no record yet of this *maṭha* to attribute it to the time of Śaṅkhamaṭhikādhipati (*c.* 700 CE); but it seems to have been built in stages beginning with the early decades of the eighth century through the tenth to early 14th, after which its occupation changed hands, as happened at Kadwaha.

At present, the *maṭha* at Surwaya stands in wilderness, enclosed by a double line of fortification with bastions and a moat surrounding it. The fortification came up long after its inception in early eighth century. Patil dates this fortification to the sixteenth-seventeenth century.[79] This date needs revision. The fortification must have come up sometime before 1292 CE because the construction of a gate of the fort is mentioned in an inscription dated

---

74. Cf., Sears, Tamara, I (2009).
75. For *pattana* as 'township,' cf, Sircar, D.C. (1966):246, sv, *Pattana*. The place grew into a city later. When occupied, it must have been a solitary tract in woodlands, as appears from its surroundings now.
76. Trivedi, H.V. (1989): VII/3: 593, v. 4.
77. The name suggests some fierce deity, may be Cāmuṇḍā, wearing a garland of skulls. Another goddess, Āsāvarī *devī* (Sans. *Āśāpurī*, 'goddess who fulfils devotees desire'), is known from a coin jointly issued by Shamsuddin Iltutmish and the Yājvapāla Cāhaḍa (1230-54 CE). Cf. Sircar (1983): 656-57.
78. Trivedi, H.V. (1989): VII/3: 598, vv. 1-3.
79. Cf. Patil, D.R. (1952):131, No. 1608.

VS 1350/1292 CE.[80] Since a gate could come up only after construction of the ramparts, the fortification must have been complete before 1292 CE. The inscription which refers to the gate also refers to *rājñī* (queen) Salahaṇadevī and prince (*mahākumāra*) Sāhasamalla who built it. It was noticed by Garde "near the eastern gate in outer fort-wall."[81] Sāhasamalla, the builder of the gate, is mentioned in a Kadwaha inscription as well.[82]

With its complement of ramparts, moat and gate the *maṭha* thus turned into a fortress by 1292 CE. We have already noticed above that forts were being built rapidly in this region in the wake of military expeditions of the regional potentates and Delhi and Malwa Sultans. In the circumstances, the monastic complex of Surwaya too, like that of Kadwaha, was fortified to ensure its security. The *maṭha* seems to have been built in several stages. Later additions (late 14th to 15th century) were removed by the Archaeology Department of Gwalior State.[83] Barring the constructions which were removed,[84] the rest of the *maṭha* indicates several stages of work on the monastery between the 8th and 13th centuries, the last of it being fortification.

Garde noticed two stages of the *maṭha*'s construction.[85] He said that the original structure was built close to its north wall and later extensions representing the second stage were done on the western side, probably in the tenth century, when it was enlarged and surmounted by two storeys and *a śikhara.* A look at the enclosing walls of the *maṭha* all around, in four cardinal directions patently demonstrates a uniformity everywhere, with little clue about precedence of one section over the others. Garde's tenth century date may also need revision considering that a *śikhara* like the one on Kuraiyabir (Kuchdon, near Deogarh, dated mid-8th century)[86] temple adorns the roof of the Surwaya *maṭha*. Since a *śikhara* should be the last construction it necessarily follows that the *maṭha* was complete by the mid-8th century. This date would suit our premise about Surwaya *maṭha* being the seat of Śaṅkhamaṭhikādhipati

---

[80] Cf. Willis (1996):20.

[81] Garde, M.B. (1919) A *Guide to Surwaya*, p. 28.

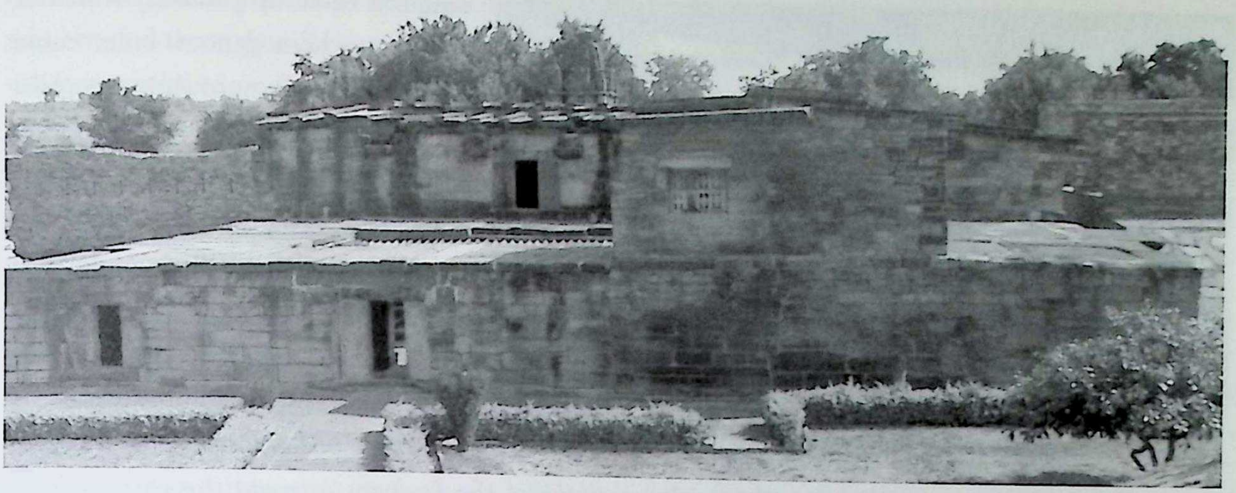
[82] Willis (1996): 21; this inscription at Kadwaha, dated in VS 1351, gives the lineage of the Yājvapālas and mentions the 'kings' Mālacanda and Sāhasamalla. It refers to excavation of a well by Kumārapāla. The inscription is on a slab of a Jain temple and in case of Sāhasamalla it shows that from *mahākumara* (in VS 1350) at Surwaya (Willis 1996:14) he had become a king in VS 1351 in the Kadwaha record. The presence of the Yājvapālas at Kadwaha is seen in another inscription of Kadwaha dated in VS 1326, cf., Willis (1996): 14. It may also indicate compatibility between the two sites and their *maṭhas*. Surwaya also refers to a *lubdhaka* family at Surwaya which had risen to the status of a *rāṇaka* and its scion Cāciga excavated a well and laid a garden at the monastery of Surwaya. Cf., Willis (1996): 20, inscription dated VS 1350. The term *lubdhaka* has *āṭavika* association. Cf. Monier Williams (1963 rep): 905, *sv*. The term means 'hunter'.

[83] Cf. Garde, M.B. (1919) A *Guide to Surwaya*, Gwalior, pp. 5-6.

[84] The remains of Sultanate period works, including *mihrabs*, can be seen within the compound of the monastic complex.

[85] Cf. Garde, M.B. (1919) A *Guide to Surwaya*, pp. 5-6.

[86] For Kuraiybir temple, its form and date, cf, Deva, Krishna (1995): pl. 205 and text.



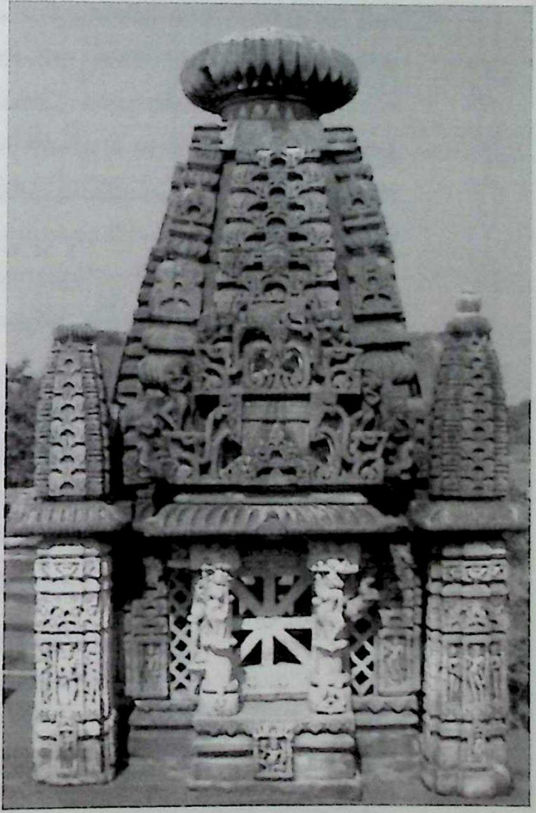
Pl. 7. The *maṭha* at Surwaya with a *sarvatobhadra* shrine: view from west.

(*c*. 700 CE), but it betrays features that contradict the possibility of the structure having been built in a single attempt.

As it looks today after restoration, certain inconsistencies are apparent in its plan. These relate to its south western complex (*maṭhikā*) on the ground floor with a different design of pillars and plan suggestive of an independent set with cells-cum-shrine (?); the pillared *vīthī* and a cell towards the north end; the asymmetry of its *miśraka* pillars with other *vīthī* pillars around the courtyard that seems jarring. These inconsistencies require some thought about the sequential connection between different components of this mid-eighth century structure.

As it stands today, the *maṭha* (23.20 × 22 m), with its two-storeyed core (Pl. 7) and a *śikhara*-topped *sarvatobhadra* shrine (Pl. 8) forming its third storey, occupies the east end of the compound and represents a homogenous, self-contained unit which originally had a flight of steps to go up from the *vīthī* (3.50 m broad) on the north-western corner. This core has another homogenous unit with a cell-cum-shrine (*maṭhikā*) on the south-west; a courtyard (9.00 × 5.00 m) and pillared *vīthī*s (0.40 m above the ground) all around it (Pl. 9); a well, a cell and a pillared *vīthī* with an exit on the north; all enclosed by the wall on the west with two more exits (Fig. 4).

The presence of two homogenous units together and the inconsistencies mentioned above combine to raise doubts whether the entire structure was built in one single attempt or it came up gradually;



Pl. 8. The *śikhara* of Surwaya *maṭha*.

Pl. 9. A pillared *vīthī* at Surwaya.

and, if it came up gradually which of these two homogenous units came first? Did the cells-cum-shrine *maṭhikā* precede the *śikhara*-decorated wing of the *maṭha* or follow it? Whether the *maṭha* when it came up, was constituted of the entire complement of its structures as it stands today, including the extensive eastern wing with the *śikhara*, the courtyard, the enclosing walls, three exits and also the south-western *maṭhikā* of the forecourt, or was the eastern wing added subsequently to the pre-existing south-western *maṭhikā* that was extant from the time of Śaṅkhamaṭhikādhipati earlier? If Surwaya has a link with Śaṅkhamaṭhikādhipati, the *maṭhikā* would have relevance, for it may explain the transformation of Śaṅkhamaṭhikādhipati's *maṭhikā* into a *maṭha* and transference of centrality from one part of the *maṭha* to another. These queries and observations notwithstanding, it would still be conceded that the main *maṭha* was complete by the mid-eighth century when *śikhara* was installed on its roof.

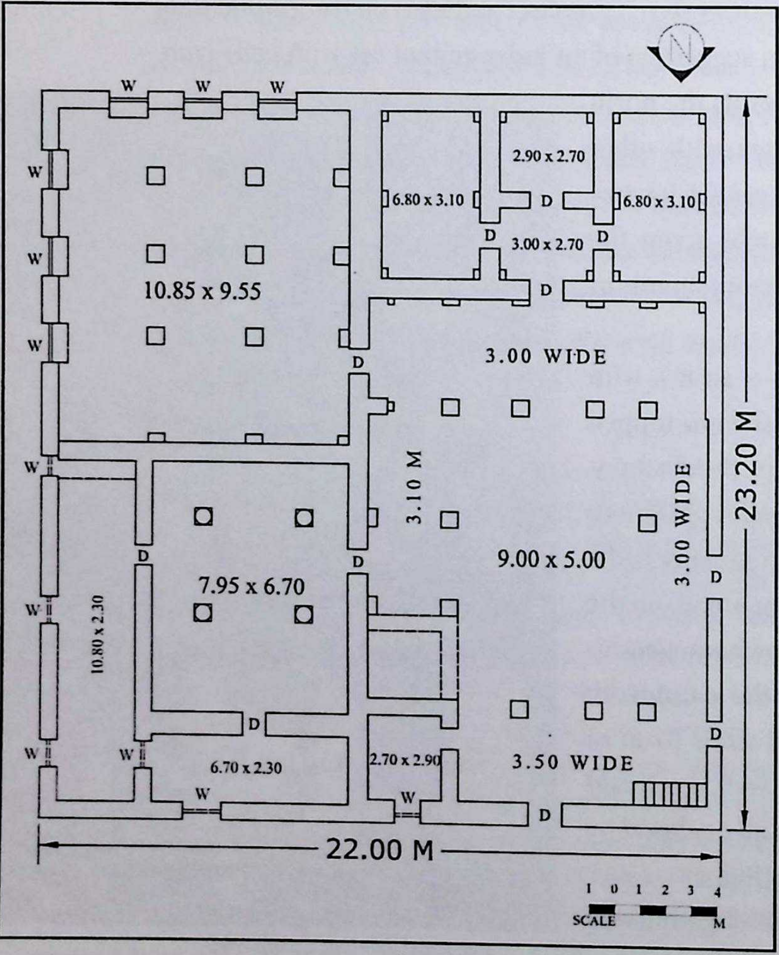


Fig. 4. Ground floor plan of the Surwaya *maṭha*.

The exercise in proposing the sequence of work at Surwaya may have to begin in agreement with Garde who considered the north wall of the *maṭha* as the starting point with the proviso that the wall enclosed the entire internal space. After this, different possibilities could be considered about further work. The first of these would be to assume that the south-western unit was built as a natural extension of the first work on the surrounding, retaining wall. This unit was composed of the *maṭhikā* with its entrance doorway, a closed *mandapa*, a cell beyond and two other cells on the flanks, and finally an open court in front beyond a pillared corridor. This complex was entered through a door on the north. The second possibility could be that this south-western *maṭhikā* complex followed the completion of the *śikhara*-bearing *maṭha* on the east which represents the core today. The third possibility would be to hypothesise that the entire work on the ground and upper floors forming the core of the *maṭha* on the east, but excluding the ground floor courtyard and its surrounding *vīthīs*, was completed in one attempt by the mid-eighth century when the *śikhara* over its roof came up. This core too strikes the viewer as a compact, self-contained unit, along with the courtyard and its pillared *vīthīs*.

We prefer the first possibility, considering that what had come up as a *maṭhikā* (first quarter of the eighth century), actually ended up eventually into an imposing *maṭha*. It needs being stressed that this *maṭhikā* complex was replicated on the first floor too, of which only the door and an extension in the form of a cell on the south-western corner have survived. This proposition befits attribution of the *maṭhikā* to its presiding *muni* Śaṅkhamaṭhikādhipati's designation and date. It will also satisfactorily explain the location of a Śiva temple, built later,[87] to the north of the *maṭhikā*, as was the convention. This convention was discarded as the Surwaya *maṭhikā* transformed into a *maṭha* with further constructions.

This *maṭhikā*, *sans* the temple outside, consisted of a pillared *vīthī*, cells and a shrine in the south and an open court in front enclosed by walls, and it marked the work immediately after construction that started with the north wall. The *miśraka* pillars on the *vīthī* (of the *maṭhikā*) with a moulded *pīṭha* having *ghaṭa-pallava* figures below and above, a *bhadra* projection on the shaft and brackets at the top supporting the architrave do not synchronise with the rest of the pillars of the ground floor (**Pl. 9**) and distinguish this phase of work from others on the ground floor.[88] It may however be noted that such *miśraka* pillars are seen at Terahi and Kadwaha (8th and 9th centuries) too, but their presence at Surwaya would predate them to the mid-eighth century when the *maṭha* of Surwaya with its *śikhara* was completed.

The next stage began with further additions to this *maṭhikā* complex. This resulted in bringing about an imposing structure of a three-storeyed *maṭha* on the eastern wing with a *śikhara* marking its third storey. This three-storeyed structure now came to constitute the core of Surwaya's fortified stronghold. In substance, this stage represents the most prolific period of work on the *maṭha*, which concluded by the mid-eighth century. With this, the sequence

---

[87] The cell-cum-shrine *maṭhikā* complex on south western corner of the *maṭha*, as at present, might have served ritual requirements till the independent Śiva temple came later in tenth century, adjacent to the *maṭha*. The fragments of *vyāla* and *pratihāris* built into the exterior of the southern wall seem to be later fixtures connected with restorations later.

[88] The incompatibility of pillars of the *vīthī* outside the *maṭhikā* with those others around the courtyard points to architectural incongruity between these two portions and underscore the time difference between them.

Pl. 10. Entrance to the *maṭhikā* on the south eastern corner.

of constructions would serially relate to (i) the portion near the north wall, (ii) the *maṭhikā* complex and (iii) the central portion on the east representing the core and the *śikhara*, in that order. This entire work may be attributed to Śaṅkhamaṭhikādhipati and possibly his unknown successor (c. 700 to 750 CE) and that may better explain the fruition of an imposing character of the *maṭha* occuring in stages. Construction in the Surwaya complex was over by the close of thirteenth century when the *maṭha* was fortified with two ramparts around and a gate was added to it after fortification.

Architecturally, in its totality, the ground floor (**Fig. 4, plan**) of the Surwaya *maṭha* presents a compact, well-integrated plan with the main structure on the east end and the *maṭhikā* on the south-western end—the two built separately in stages and then functionally integrated together—with both having an open courtyard in front.[89] This courtyard is enclosed on the west by a wall with two doors and on the north it is skirted by a pillared *vīthī* and a doorway. This northern portion has a sloping roof. The open courtyard is thus surrounded on all sides with pillared-and-roofed *vīthī*s and the slabs on the roof have corrugated *chādya*s projecting towards the courtyard.

Access to the *maṭhikā* on the south western corner is through an entrance (**Pl. 10**) from the pillared *vīthī*. The carved entrance doorway has vines and creepers but no figure work. It leads to an enclosed *maṇḍapa* (3.00 × 2.70 m) with a shrine-cell (2.00 × 2.70 m) at its southern end and two rectangular cells of same-size (6.80 × 3.10 m) on the flanks. These two cells have unadorned entrances which once had wooden doors.

The pillars in the *vīthī*s surrounding the courtyard evince two types with minor variations in details and have parallels both at Kadwaha and Ranod. One of the types represents *miśraka* type with *bhadra* and *ghaṭa-pallava* (vase-and-foliage) forms and it occurs at Surwaya, Kadwaha and Ranod (at Surwaya in the veranda on the south end; at Ranod on the stone-grilled *gavākṣa*s that admit light in the interiors). The other, the predominant one, evinces a ponderous, square shaft on a pedestal below and a capital above, with brackets which support architraves at the top. This type is seen both at Surwaya and Ranod.

---

[89] This central cell in the *maṭhikā* could have served the purpose of *dīkṣā* rituals or been the seat of the presiding *ācārya*'s audience to the gathering that was permitted inside, into the courtyard.

The core of the monastery lies on the east end beyond the open courtyard and its pillared *vīthī*. It is composed of two large chambers side-by-side: a large one (10.85 × 10.95 m) perhaps the *vāhyasthānamaṇḍapa* (commoners' assembly hall) with an *ajira* (open court) outside,[90] occupying the south-eastern section of the *maṭha* and the other (7.95 × 6.70 m) occupying the north eastern section. This latter chamber has two rectangular cells (10.80 × 2.30 and 6.70 × 2.30 m), perhaps dormitories, attached to it on the east and north respectively. Both the large chambers have entrances on the western side through the pillared *vīthī*. This and other *vīthīs* on the ground floor could be the *āhāra maṇḍapa* (dining enclosure). The larger one of these two chambers has two rows of pillars—three pillars in each row—placed in the centre; the pilasters corresponding to these pillars are abutted to the western and northern walls. The smaller chamber with four pillars in the centre and two other cells attached to it on the north and east is equipped with an entrance to each of these cells. One of these cells has a slab attached to its southern wall. This slab (2.30 × 0.90 m; 0.95 m above the floor), below one of the three stone-grilled windows (0.85 × 0.90 m) in the cell, is probably the remnant of a stone chest with a broken front, a chest that must have held the wealth of the *maṭha*.[91] The vault was supervised by the presiding *muni* who perhaps occupied the cell. In proximity of the cell above and beyond the first floor is the *śikhara* marking the third storey. The *śikhara* valorises its significance. The interior span of the ground floor has ten stone-grilled windows on walls apart from yet another such window located in the single cell on the north, near the well. One of the cells near the priest's chamber has huge stone pegs shaped like the heads of the lion and the camel. Such pegs are seen at Ranod and Kadwaha too.

A flight of steps on the northern side of the *maṭha* leads to the first floor (Fig. 5). The first floor today has, on its south western section, a solitary cell (closed, not accessible now). The cell with its sloping roof and *ratnaka*-adorned stone window (*gavākṣa*) with a projecting *chādya* could be coeval to another, now destroyed, replica of the *maṭhikā* below composed of a *maṇḍapa* with a cell at the back and two other cells on the flanks. This entire portion has disappeared now but fragments of its entrance doorway can be made out on the floor. The floor of one of these cells on the south-western corner is still left with a sunken space with a drain indicating that the cell containing it apparently served as a wash room. The rest of the structures on the first floor occupy the entire eastern end of the first floor. In plan, as it survives

---

90. For these and other terms, cf, Agrawala (1964): 217-219.
91. We earlier thought it to be the bed of the presiding *ācārya* over which the *śikhara* of the *maṭha* was raised, above the roof. However, the height of these slabs and condemnation of use of bed in *maṭha* as mentioned in the Ranod inscription (*E.I*, 1, p.361, v. 67) suggests their incompatibility as beds. The Ranod inscription explicitly disallows sleeping on a bed in the *maṭha* and the bed-and-*śikhara* combination would not work. It may therefore be suggested that the slabs, pierced into the walls, may in fact be the remaining covers of granaries with their fronts now missing. Such slabs are found in Chandrehe, Surwaya and Kadwaha monasteries. In the monastery at Kodal, they are still intact and seem to represent appropriate silos to store harvested produce.

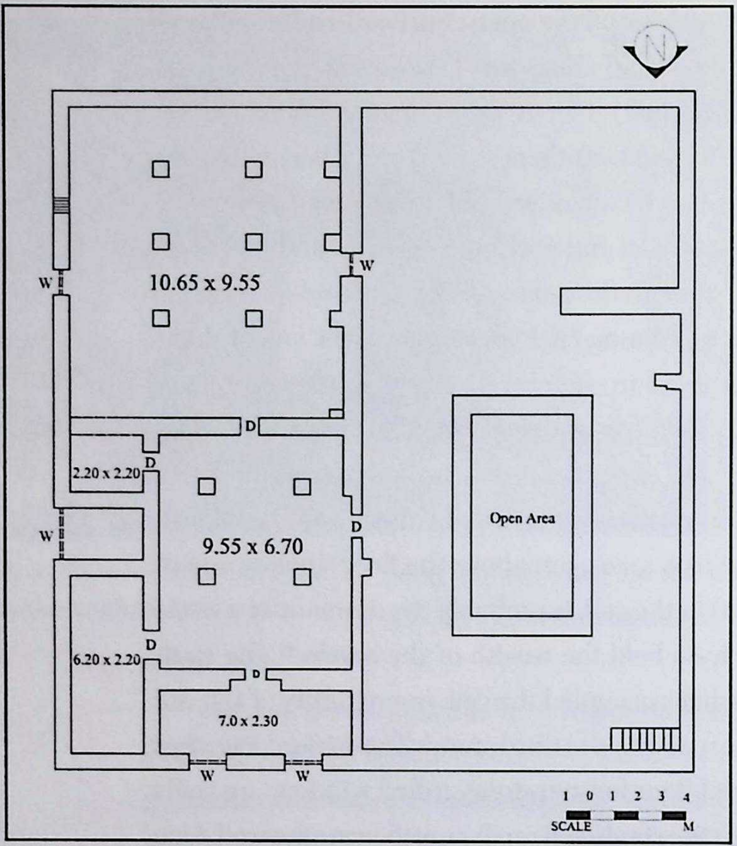


Fig. 5. First floor plan of Surwaya *maṭha* with stairway in the north (bottom, right).

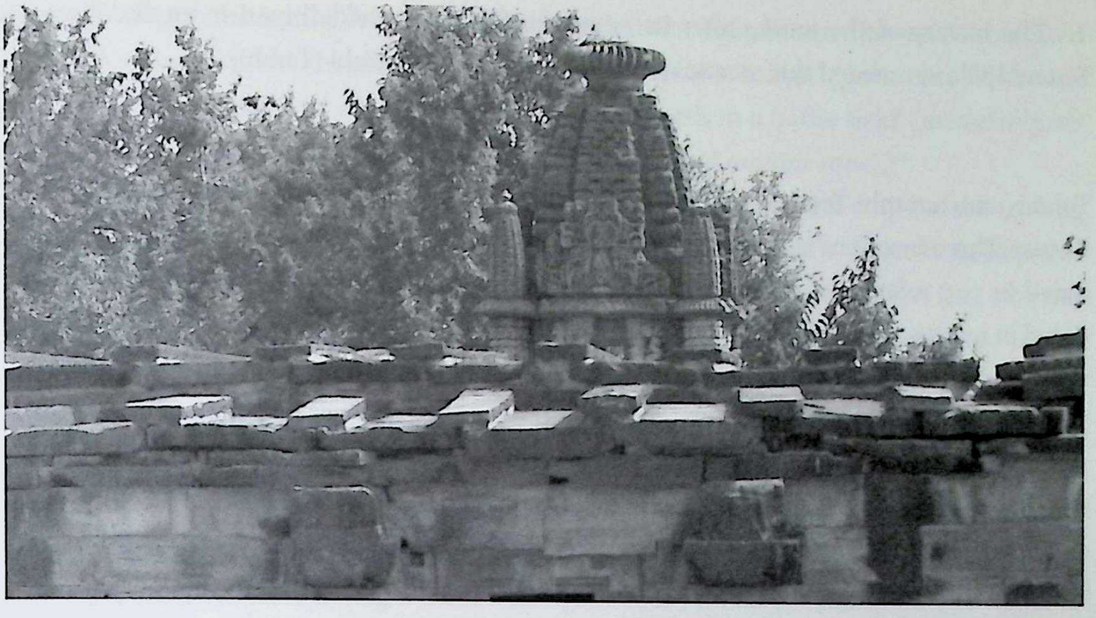
today, and in chronology, these are coeval to the ground floor and in accordance with structural arrangements below. The well-integrated façade of the first storey of the monastery has a doorway in the centre and a wall uniformly extending to a length of about 77.9 feet from north to south with a door and window piercing it in between.

On the first floor, the *maṭha* has, within its enclosed space, two chambers side-by-side; the one occupying the northeast section has three adjoining cells. The chamber (10.65 × 9.55 m) to the southeast, possibly representing *muktāsthāna maṇḍapa* (assembly hall for distinguished personages), emulates the plan of its counterpart on the ground floor. Thus, it has two horizontal rows of pillars at the centre and corresponding pilasters too, but the latter figure only on two walls. The north-eastern chamber (7.95 × 6.70 m), like its counterpart below on the ground floor, has three adjoining cells (7.00 × 2.30; 6.20 × 2.20; 2.20 × 2.20 m) attached to its main chamber. This chamber seems truly central to the first storey in the *maṭha* because, with doors placed on two of its sides, it has access to all others cells and to the adjoining chamber. The larger chamber on this floor seems to have represented an assembly hall while the other large chamber and its adjoining cells served ritual and other requirements including the *munis*' discourses to their disciples and prominent visitors. It seems that this large chamber with its accompanying cells assumed centrality, which the pre-existing *maṭhikā* had enjoyed before. The *maṭhikā* now would have turned into a shrine (?) or, alternatively into a *dīkṣā* unit with its other cells stored with the paraphernalia of rituals, including perhaps a *vastrāgāra* and a *granthāgāra*. As for the core of the *maṭha*, its sloping, stepped roof is remarkable. It is composed of a great mass of huge stone slabs with upraised sides laid (like terracotta tiles) in a row with more than a metre-long capping stones covering their upraised joints (**Pl. 11**).

The second floor of the *maṭha* is unique in that it is composed of a 'miniature *sarvatobhadra* shrine'[92] with a 3.50 m high *śikhara* built on 2 × 2 m platform. The shrine (750-755 CE) has

---

[92] See also *infra*, p. 155. The *śikhara* of this shrine is like that of Kuchdon's Kuraiyabir temple of mid-eighth century which follows the Early Nāgara mode in central India. Cf. Deva, Krishna (1995): 168, 56. Plates: 59 (Kuchdon), 205 (Surwaya).



Pl. 11. Stepped, sloping roof of Surwaya *maṭha*.

a square sanctum with a moulded *adhiṣṭhāna* below and a *latina śikhara* of *triratha* type with five *bhūmi*s and an *āmalaka* above. The *śikhara* has *udgama* on all its faces and the *adhiṣṭhāna* carries a miniature niche with a deity. The *jaṅghā* of the shrine has four doorways with latticed projections at its four cardinal directions. The square shrine has *bhadraka* pillars surmounted by miniature *latina śikharikā*, on all its corners.[93]

The fortified enclosure at Surwaya now contains three temples (tenth to eleventh century) and remains of medieval structures to the south and west of the *maṭha*. Inscriptions from the site refer to a well of VS 1341, another *vāpikā* of VS 1348, *a vāpī* and a garden of VS 1350. Some of these works are still in place. The inscriptions also refer to *brāhmaṇas*, *thākur*s, a *rāṇaka* of *lubdhaka* clan, *kāyasthas* (migrating from Mathura and settling down here), masons, the Yājvapāla rulers Gopāla and Gaṇapati besides others, all within a chronological bracket of VS 1341 to VS 1772.[94] The *maṭha* at Surwaya has enough to celebrate its ancient glory but it has neither left a genealogy of its *muni*s nor a narrative of its activities. However, the *pattana* part of its name Sarasvatīpattana suggests that by 1285 CE it had turned into a township (*pattana*). The *maṭha* remained a landmark that possibly obscured all else around till Śaivism here gave way to the changing polity and its concomitant developments in the last decade of the 14th century. The woodland in its case seems to have first transformed into a populated settlement and then into a township before other transformations overtook it with the rise of the Sultans in Delhi, Malwa, Gujarat and elsewhere.

---

[93] Willis (1996): 61. This *śikhara*, according to Sri Anil Jain, is locally known as *javani sankat*, ('peril to youth') meant to test the integrity of young people.

[94] Cf. Willis (1996): 18, 19, 20, 57, 61, 121.

The history of the *maṭha* after its *munīndra* Śaṅkhamaṭhikādhipati is totally obscure. Terambipāla succeeded this ascetic not at Surwaya but at Terambi (Terahi).

TERAHI

Terahi (anc. Terambi, Teramvi) of Terambipāla (*c*. 725-50 CE), like Kadwaha, has a battle-scarred history. Three inscribed memorial stones (**Pl. 1 B**), two of them dated in 903 CE and the third dated in 905, refer to warriors who lost their life here, in action.[95] Of these records, the one dated in 903 CE avers that Cāṇḍiyāṇa, the warden of the local fort, was killed in bloody battle with Undabhaṭa.[96] Undabhaṭa, a *mahāsāmantādhipati* here, appears again at Siyadoni as a feudatory of the Gurjara-Pratihāras. Strangely, the monastery is not mentioned in the Terahi records which refer, among other things, to the demise of Cāṇḍiyāṇa, the *koṭṭapāla* who held the fort in service of the *mahāsāmantādhipati* Guṇarāja, a Rāṣṭrakūṭa feudatory. Of the other two inscriptions, the one of 903 CE refers to a warrior Varman (the name is incomplete), who was a *sāmanta* and *mahā-aśvapati*[97] and the other of 905 CE to Allabhaṭṭa and Allajiyapa who all died fighting. The latter's wife Nanna committed *satī*.[98] These details may allow certain propositions: one, that the *maṭha* was already in existence when Terahi witnessed bloody battles in 903 and 905 CE; two, that the fort disappeared after the battle;[99] and three, that the death of heroes was lauded with the sentiments that the *ācāryas* seem to have inculcated among the *āṭavika* in the woodlands, i.e. a warrior would have 'Lakṣmī (prosperity) if he won and heavenly Apsarās if he died; so why worry about death in a battle field' (*jitenalabhyate lakṣmīṃ mṛtenāpi surāṅganā/kṣaṇavidhvaṃsinī kāyā kā cintā maraṇe raṇe*).[100]

---

[95] In the **Pl. 1B** the hero stone in the centre is dated in VS 962/905 CE and refers to Bhāillabhaṭṭa and a dead warrior. The hero stone on the right (**Pl. 1B**) is dated in VS 960/903 CE and refers to the death of Caṇḍiyāṇa in action. For the text of the records, cf, Singh, A.K. (1994-95): 141-142

[96] Cf. Singh, A.K. (1994-95): 140-141.Keilhorn, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVII, p. 202. The existence here of a fort, now extinct, is implicit in the reference to its *koṭṭapāla* Caṇḍiyāṇa. Incidently, the *maṭha* today is locally known as *garhi* (fortress). Sri Komal Singh Yadav of Terahi who retired as Monument Attendant of ASI has childhood memories of a fortress with battlements that existed adjacent to it. He also informed us (at Surwaya in 2015) that as this 'fortress' decayed it was denuded of its stones for re-use in village housing.

[97] Keilhorn, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVII, p. 202.

[98] Singh, A.K. (1994-95): 141, also Willis (1996): 2. The names Allabhaṭṭa and Bhaillabhaṭṭa are interesting because in a Gwalior record one Alla is son of Vāyillabhaṭṭa of Varjara family of Gujarat. Cf, Hultzsch, E. (1892 rep.):154. Alla was contemporary of Ādivarāha (same as the Gurjara Pratihāra ruler Mihira Bhoja, 836-85 CE). The temple inscriptions of Gwalior are dated respectively in 875 and 876 CE while the battle took place in VS 960/903 CE. So, the Alla-s respectively of Terahi and Gwalior could not be the same person.

[99] Did Undabhaṭa go to Siyadoni after the battle, leaving Terahi in favour of *munis* who continued to flourish sending disciples to Odisha? Or did the *munis* start moving out after the battle? The second possibility is not likely because the monastery of Terahi, with a temple of early ninth century, continued to be lived in, and its disciples continued to immigrate. What was the *munis* role in battle? The question remains whether the *koṭṭa* was destroyed or, whether, on Caṇḍiyāṇa's death after the battle the *munis* secured it with Undabhaṭa's intervention? These questions are difficult to be resolved in the present state of knowledge. However, the movement of its disciples from Terambi to other locations till the 10-11th century indicates that the *maṭha* continued to flourish.

Terahi's location near the Madhumatī River made it an important stop on the trading route through the region on the banks of the Sindh.[101] With the rise of a monastic settlement having Terambipāla (early 8th century) as the 'protector' (*pāla*) of Terahi, a fort (pre-903 CE) made its appearance here.[102] It also witnessed construction of a temple by the side of the *maṭha*, sometime in the first quarter of the ninth century[103] and a Cāmuṇḍā temple (Mohaj Mata) in the tenth century at the site.

Terahi became a famed centre of Siddhānta ascetics with its distinguished founder Terambipāla. The *maṭha* here was instrumental in dispatching its distinguished ascetics to Odisha. According to the Allahabad Museum Copper plate grant of Raṇabhañjadeva (*c.* 950-1000 CE) a *muni* of Terahi immigrated to Odisha in the 10th century.[104] This grant was made to the Siddhānta *ācārya* Śikhādeva of Terambi origin and his disciples: *Terambi vinirgata ācārya Śikhādeva ...śaivopākhya darśana Siddhānta sthiti pratipādaka...*). Another inscription from Ranipur-Jharial (tenth or eleventh century) refers to Terambi as "Uttara Terambigṛha", (distinct from the southern Terambi, which perhaps Ranipur was). In this case, the *ācārya* Gaganaśiva migrated to Ranipur (*uttare terambigṛha nirgata gaganaśivābhidhāna siddha ācārya ...*) and built a Śiva temple there which contained the images of Soma, Svāmin, Siddheśvara and Lakṣmī.[105] Gaganaśiva is supposed to have typified Śiva: *Gaganaikastvayaṃ prabhuḥ śivaḥ*. Terambi now has a dilapidated *maṭha* besides two temples dedicated respectively to Śiva (800-825 CE) and Cāmuṇḍā (mid-tenth century). The Siddhānta monastery among these is a well-built structure stylistically coeval to the ones at Kadwaha and Surwaya built earlier.

---

[100] *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVII, p. 202: Terahi inscription of VS 960.

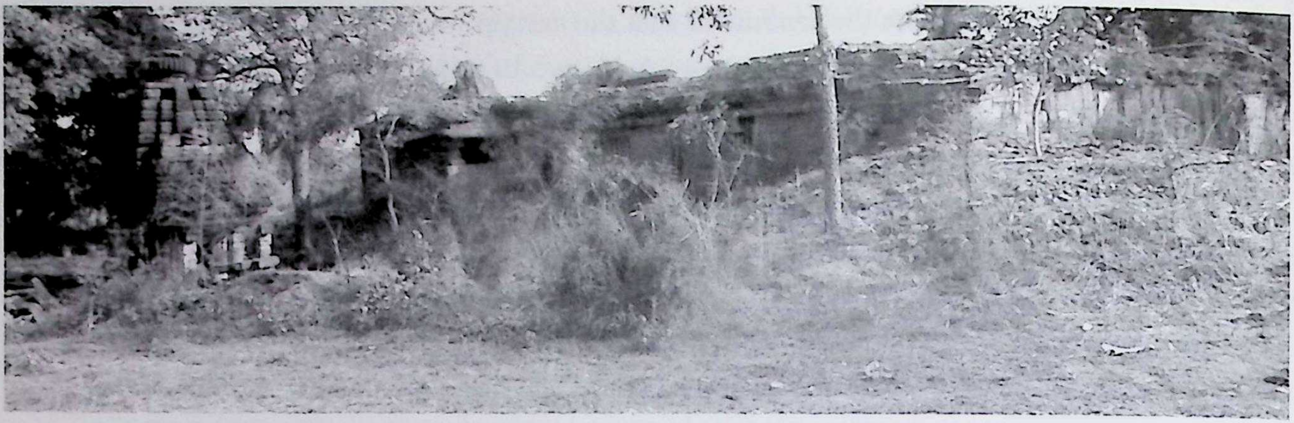
[101] Chakrabarti (2005): 104-105. I owe this information to Dr Tamara I Sears.

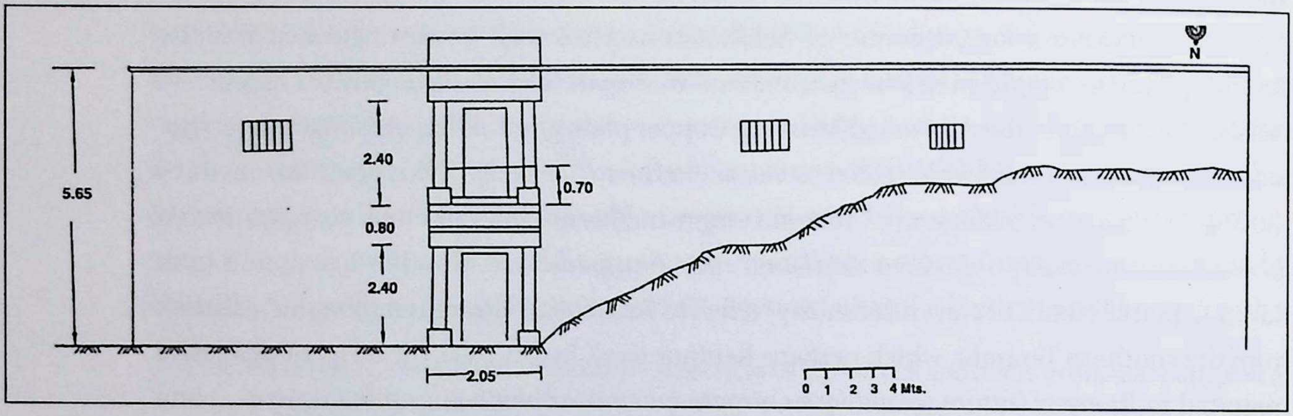
[102] The fort disappeared after the battle of Terahi between Undabhaṭa and Guṇarāja, mentioned above.

[103] Deva, Krishna (1995): 106.

[104] I owe this information to Professor G. C. Tripathi whose paper on the copper plate inscription is under publication.

[105] *E.I.*, 32, pp. 242-43. The inscription reiterates the Siddhānta doctrines in terms of 'bondage' (*bandhana*), 'liberation' (*mukti*) and 'penance' (*tapa*). Also, B.Ch. Chhabra, editing the inscription, tentatively suggested identity of Gaganaśiva of Ranipur inscription with Vyomaśiva of the Ranod inscription without insisting on the identification. He was however firm about Mattamayūra sages founding "temples, tanks and monasteries at various places" as they were "highly honoured and favoured with munificent gifts by certain Kalachuri rulers". His view about ascribing architectural works to ascetics supports our attribution of temples and monasteries to ascetics rather than to potentates. Epigraphs to confirm this are not lacking.





Above:
Pl. 12. The *maṭha* and temple at Terahi, view from west.

Below:
Fig. 6. Front elevation of the *maṭha* at Terahi, showing projecting *pragrīvaka* (porch).

The monastery of Terahi stands in a state of utter disrepair today (**Pl. 12; Fig. 6**), along with a Śiva temple to its north, and positioning of the two is quite in conformity with the conventional practice of their mutual directional orientation. The inception of the monastery may be assigned to the second quarter of the eighth century, coeval to its presiding *muni* Terambipāla (*c.* 725-750 CE). It is a two-storeyed structure with a doorway opening towards the temple. In date, the *maṭha* precedes the temple.[106]

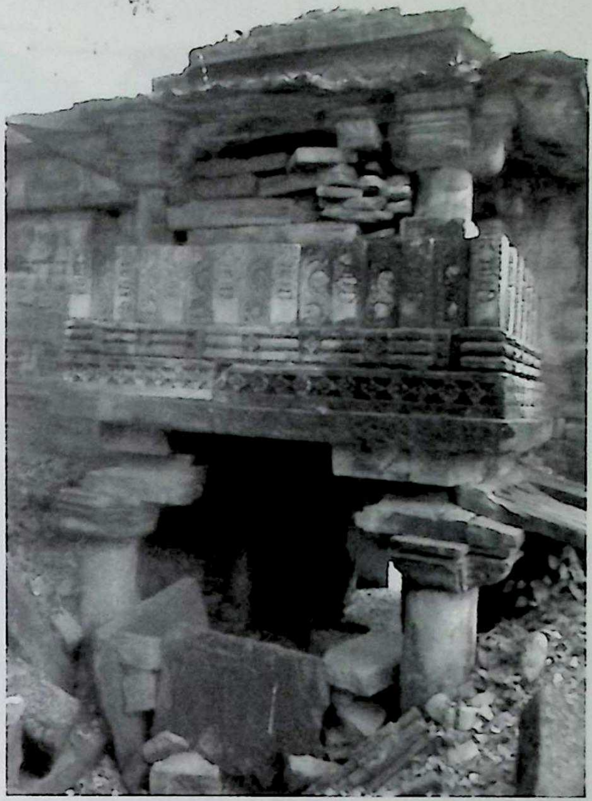
This 5.65 m high *maṭha* with 0.50 m thick walls, occupies an area of 26 × 18.30 m, and stands on the eastern side of the village. It is the only example among the Gopācala *maṭhas* to have a well-conceived, ornate façade. Its projecting *pragrīvaka* (porch)—a unique feature which was emulated at Chandrehe later—is set on two pillars and two corresponding inner pilasters and contains a doorway (1.85 × 1 m) leading to the interior spaces. This porch is surmounted by another balcony-like *pragrīvaka* (2.15 m high) projecting out of the first floor (**Pl. 13; Fig. 6**).

Externally, the projecting *pragrīvaka* is laid on a base of *prastaras* (architraves) on three sides that support two courses of carved mouldings—the lower course with an immaculately framed floral frieze and the upper one with triple *pīṭha* mouldings—which support the well-adorned upright *rājasena* fillets on three sides. Above, it has a *vitāna* (ceiling) with an externally projecting *chādya* supported on two pillars and their corresponding pilasters, inside.

---

[106] We noticed some pillars on the south-eastern corner of the *maṭha* depicting floral motifs within a circle. A similarly adorned pillar was noticed inside the sanctum of the local Śiva temple too. This may suggest some chronological link between the construction of the temple and the *maṭha*. The *maṭha* perhaps came up in stages.

The entry to the ground floor (**Fig. 7**) of the *maṭha* is through an entrance contained within the *pragrīvaka*. It leads to a pillared *vīthī* that has an open courtyard spread out beyond it (**Pl. 14**). The pillared *vīthīs*, now preserved partially, once surrounded the courtyard on all its four sides and contained cells, which together recall the textual description of *catuḥśāla* and *sanjavana* with *vastrāgāra*, *kāṣṭhāgāra*, *granthāgāra* and dormitories for disciples.[107] These lay at the back of the pillared *vīthīs*. However, excepting for one cell that still exist in a dilapidated condition and is topped by another cell of the same dimensions—both almost in straight axial alignment with the porch—all other architectural elements on the southern end have disappeard now. Both of those surviving cells have un-sculpted doorways rudimentarily carved with *śākhās*, *peḍya* and *śiras-paṭṭa*.


Pl. 13. Balcony-like *pragrīvaka*, Terahi *maṭha*.

The western wing on the ground floor of the *maṭha* has three pillared chambers of varying dimensions (5.45 × 4.00;[108] 3.20 × 4.00; 3.50 × 2.40 m). Behind these chambers, there is alongitudinal six-pillared cell (17.20 × 3.00 m) extending from north to south all along the retaining wall. Entry into it is through a door in a chamber on the north wing. The remains of the eastern wing of the *maṭha* have two pillared verandas (7.50 × 4.75; 4.75 × 3.50 m) besides a cell (3.45 × 3.00 m). The layout of this wing of the monastery at Terahi seems to have a nodding similarity with its Kadwaha counterpart as in both the instances the north-eastern cells are coeval to the *vīthī* on the north. Yet, unlike Kadwaha where entry to the cell is from the pillared *vīthī*, that at Terahi is through the central veranda (7.50 × 4.75 m) of the eastern wing. This central veranda has two rows of three pillars each and a row of three corresponding

---

[107] For these terms, cf. Agrawala (1966): 217-19.

[108] There could have been yet another row of cells in front of this chamber. This is suggested by the presence of the bases of four pillars in front of it. If we accept a row of other chambers towards the south in alignment with these pillars, it will constrict the courtyard to allow the two solitary, dilapidated cells now surviving on south to face the *maṭha*'s main entrance.

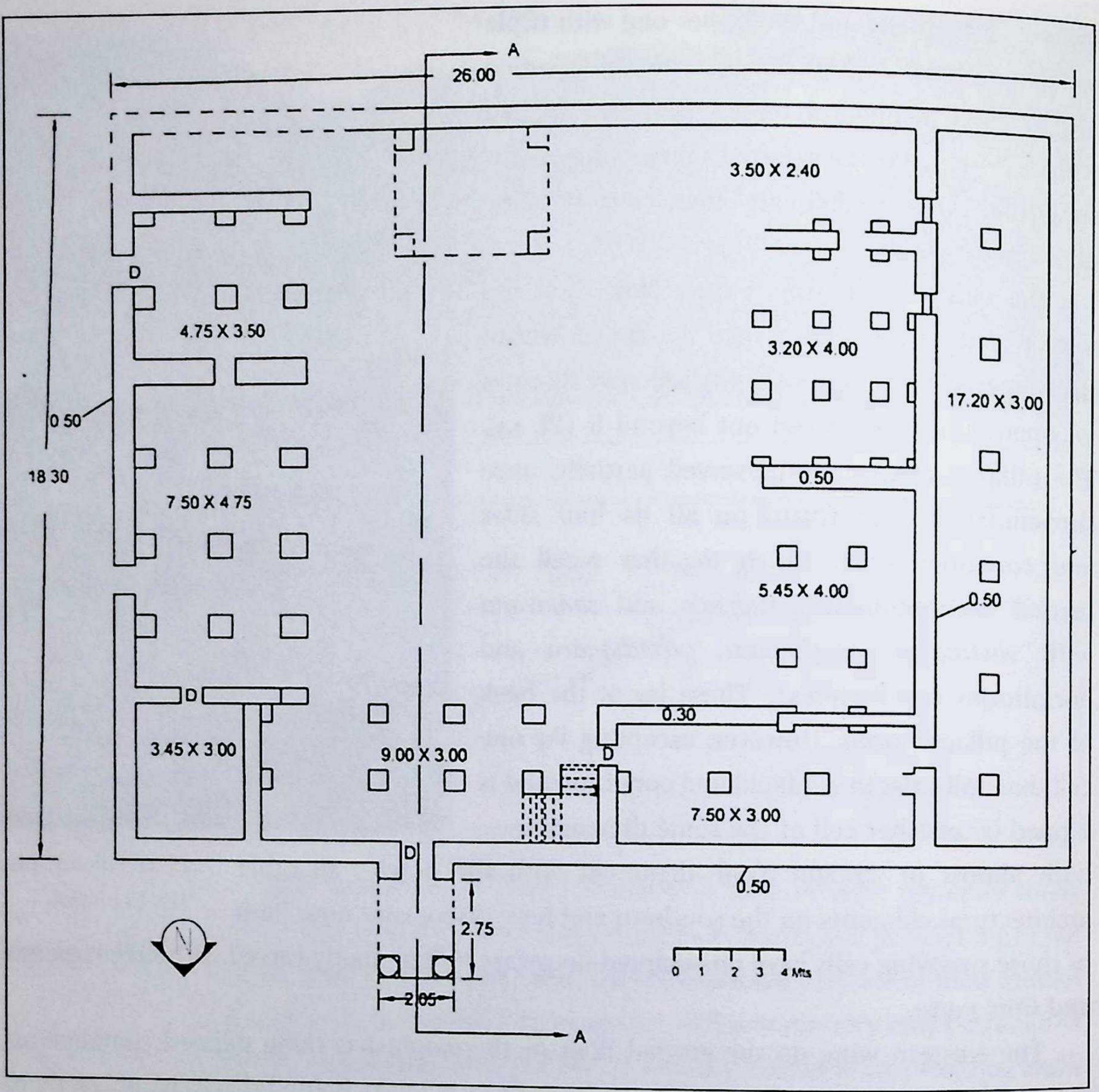
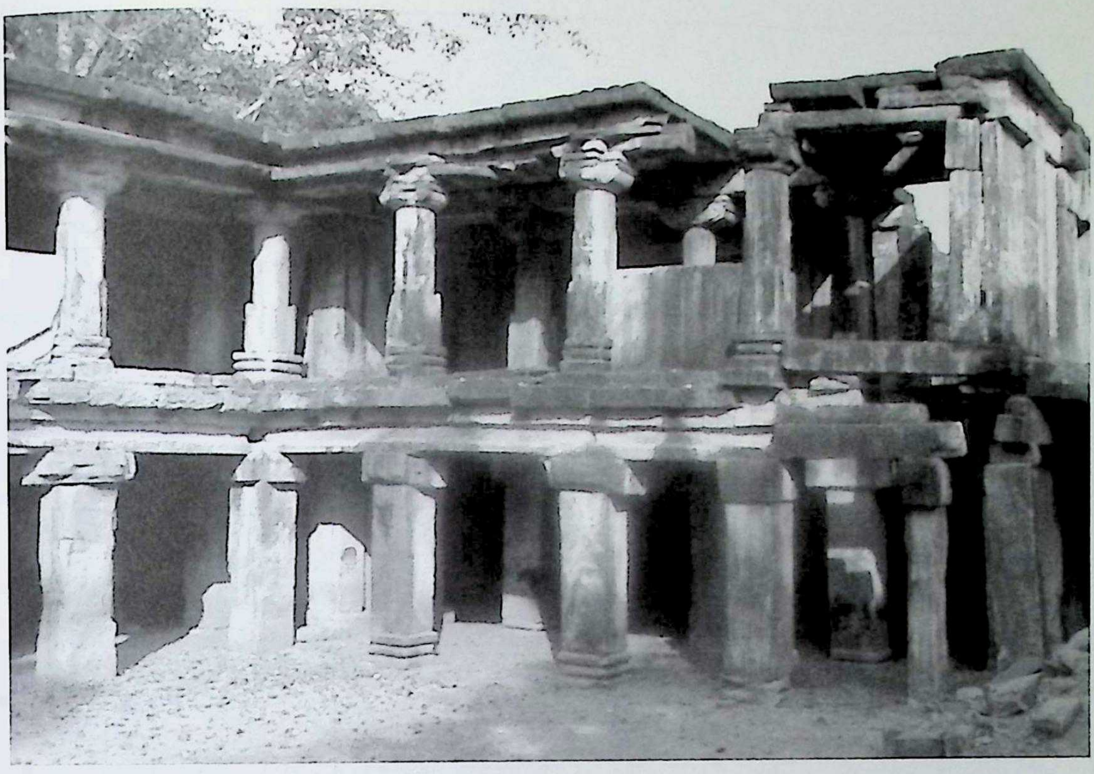

A
26.00
3.50 X 2.40
D
4.75 X 3.50
0.50
18 30
7 50 X 4 75
3.20 X 4.00
17.20 X 3.00
0.50
5 45 X 4.00
0.50
D
0.30
3.45 X 3.00
9.00 X 3.00
D
7.50 X 3.00
D
0.50
2.75
2.05
N
0 1 2 3 4 Mts
A

Fig. 7. Ground floor plan, Terahi *maṭha*.

pilasters which all support the ceiling above. Towards its south, there is another pillared veranda (4.75 × 3.50 m), smaller in dimensions. Each of these two verandas is conspicuous in having *pakṣadvāras* (side doorways) opening towards the east. These side doorways are in addition to the main doorway within the *pragrīvaka* mentioned above. Such a multi-door arrangement at Terahi is unusual and different from the multi-door pattern found at the ground floor of the Surwaya *maṭha*. More than one door in the Terahi *maṭha* might have been necessitated as much by the battle-scarred history of the site as for privacy or quick evacuation, if need arose. There is yet another pillared chamber (7.50 × 3.00 m) still surviving on the ground floor, joined to its northern wall. This chamber has two doorways: one that connects it to the pillared *vīthī* near the entrance and the other that leads to the longitudinal pillared cell of the west wing. A flight of steps near this pillared chamber leads to the first storey of the *maṭha*.



Pl. 14. Pillared *vīthīs* surounding courtyard at Terahi *maṭha*, with cells behind corridors.

The structural lay out of the now crumbling first storey (**Fig. 8**) follows the pattern of its ground floor and is similarly conspicuous for its pillared *vīthīs* which have partly survived only on the eastern and northern wings.

The eastern wing of the storey has a cell (3.45 × 3.00 m) that occupies the north-eastern corner with a pillared veranda (16 × 4.75 m) to its south. The cell has a carved but unsculpted doorway marking its distinction. As on the ground floor so also here, the cell is entered through a doorway from the pillared veranda. The veranda contains seven pillars and six pilasters arranged into an outer row of four pillars besides a pilaster, a middle row of three pillars and a pilaster and the last row of four pilasters abutting the retaining wall on east end. This wall also contains a doorway rudimentarily carved both internally and externally *sans* any figural adornment.[109] The veranda is closed by a wall on south, the wall marking the terminal point of the surviving structures on that end. The eastern wing of the *maṭha* also affords a spectacularly captivating panoramic view of deeply wooded hills especially during the rainy season. All the wings of the *maṭha* on the first storey are in a poor state of preservation, suffering a state of total neglect.

The western wing of the *maṭha* on the first floor again has a longitudinal pillared cell (17.20 × 3.00) repeated exactly like the one below. This cell with six pillars has two doorways,

---

[109] The surviving cells in the corners have carved but un-sculpted doorways, which would indicate their occupants being privileged. Two such cells occur on the ground floor, one on the first floor and two more on the southern end of the monastery.

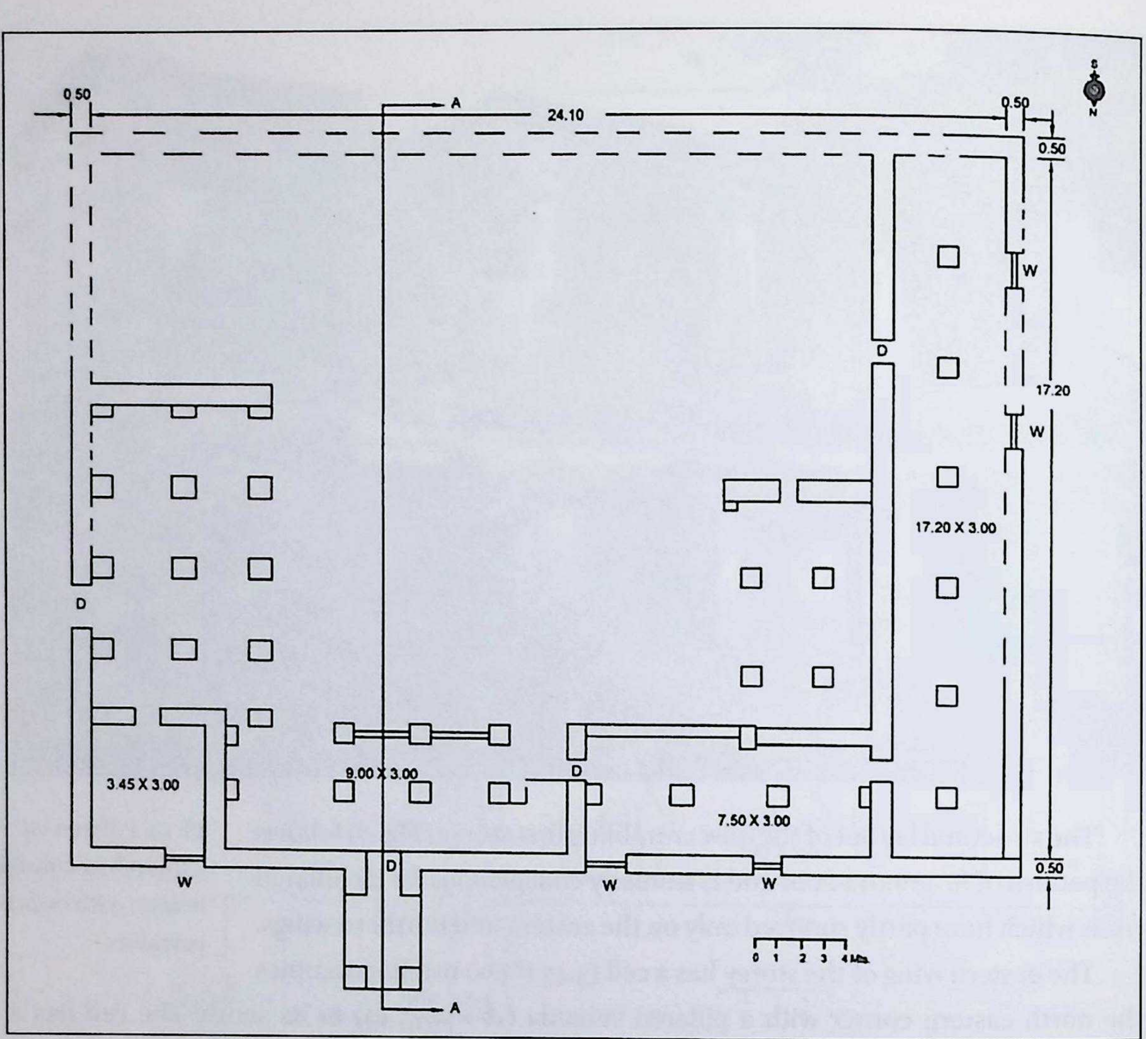


Fig. 8. Plan, first storey, Terahi *maṭha.*

one towards the south-western side, facing east and the other through the chamber (7.50 × 3.00) that abuts the north wall.

The north side of the monastery also has a *vīthī* (9.00 × 3.00) with three-pillars. It contains a door leading to the *praggrīvaka* mentioned above. The door contains the figure of Gaṇeśa as its *lalāṭa bimba*. The monastery has five stone-grilled windows, two in the west and three in the north, of the type encountered at Kadwaha, Surwaya, Ranod and Chunari. The pillars present *rucaka* and *miśraka* types, and are massive in proportions. The ponderous pillars on the ground floor are not as elaborate as those on the first floor; the latter exhibit distinctions in treatment of the base and shaft—square, octagonal or sixteen-sided chamfered shafts—sometimes indented with creepers. The brackets of the pillars are found occasionally carved with floral and *ratnaka* motifs. The space between the outer pillars of the first floor, towards the open courtyard on the ground floor, was probably closed with slabs placed between pillars. These slabs together, served as barricade, ensuring safe movement near the edge of the floor. The roof of the Terahi *maṭha* was made of interlocked slabs. Its remains still survive precariously on the *varaṇḍikā* portion on northwestern section.

The lay out of upper storey of the monastery seems to be in accordance with that of the ground floor but presence of many verandas on both the floors begs explanation. It is also difficult to speculate on the use of the different parts of the *maṭha* but perhaps the two cells on the southern end afforded discourses or audience of the presiding ascetic to devotees who gathered in the open courtyard. The longitudinal pillared cells on two levels of the west wing in the *maṭha* could have served as stores for valuables for they were hidden behind the far end of the more visible spaces. The cell on the northeastern corner of the ground floor probably served for rituals; the chambers accommodated the *munis* and served as dormitories.

ĀMARDAKA (AMROL)

Āmardaka (Amrol in Gwalior District), the next location in the series, came into reckoning with the advent of Rudraśambhu[110] in *c.* 775 CE.[111] He is referred as Āmardakatīrthanātha in the Ranod inscription and his name reveals his status as the 'lord' (*nātha*) of the *tīrtha* that was Āmardaka. Like his predecessors, Rudraśiva too opted for a sylvan and solitary territory in a woodland setting. The name of the site suggests that as he took over this *tapovana*[112] as fit for his penance (*bhūri tapaḥ tapo'pi satkhyātiḥ*),[113] it turned into a *tīrtha*, ever adorned by his association: *srimad Āmardakaṃ yena sthanaṃ ciram alamkṛitaṃ.*[114] The Siddhāntin appropriation of Āmardaka was early and its expansion rapid. This is borne out by the emigration of its sages to Senkapat in the mid-eighth century.[115] They also got established in the *maṭhas* of Rajor and Chātraśiva in Rajasthan forming its Sopuriya branch (*āmardaka vinirgata sopurīyasantati*)[116] even as some of them went to Maharashtra and Karnāṭaka.[117]

The Karnāṭaka connection of the Āmardaka line is traced through Durvāsa, a mythical sage connected both with Āmardaka's Rudraśambhu and Gaganaśiva of Karhad (in Satara district in Maharashtra). The latter is said to have been the spiritual teacher of an Alūpa king.[118] In the Karhad Plates of Kṛṣṇa III (959 CE), Gaganaśiva is described as the *sthānapati* of Valkaleśvara *maṭha* at Karhad. He belonged to the Karañjakheṭa branch (*karañjakheṭa santati*) of Āmardaka line and was a disciple of Īśvaraśiva whom he succeeded in Karnāṭaka.[119]

---

[110] Cf. Mirashi (1955): 213, v. 48; Pathak (1960):31.

[111] *Ibid*, p. 31.

[112] Cf. *E.I.*, 31, p. 36, v. 16.

[113] *E.I.*, 1, p. 355, v. 9.

[114] Mirashi (1974): 179, v.9.

[115] *Supra*, p. 45, fn. 35.

[116] Kielhorn, F., (rep.1979) "Rajor Inscription of Maṭhanadeva; [Vikram-] Samvat 1016", *E.I.*, 3, pp. 263-267. It refers to Śrikaṇṭhācārya, his disciple Rūpaśivācārya and the latter's disciple Oṃkāraśivācārya who all belonged to the Sopuriya branch of Āmardaka lineage. It also refers to Lacchukeśvara-Śiva temple, two monasteries and a grant. The administration of this grant was entrusted to Oṃkāraśivācārya. Of the two *maṭhas*, *ie*, Nityapramuditadeva *maṭha* at Rājyapura (Rajor, in former Alwar state of Rajasthan) and Gopāladevī Taḍāgapallī *maṭha* at Chātraśiva (some place nearby). Of these, the Chātraśiva *maṭha* was more ancient than the other. Counting three generations back from Oṃkāraśiva (960 CE), the beginning of the line at Rajor may be placed seventy-five years earlier in *c.* 885 CE and that of the Chātraśiva sometimes before that date. It may therefore be concluded that *ācāryas* from Āmardaka (established in *c.* 775) came into prominence in Rajasthan by *c.* 850 CE first at Chātraśiva and then at Rājyapura.

[117] Cf. Pathak, V.S. (1960): 31.

These accounts show the expansion of Āmardaka branch of the Siddhānta ascetics far beyond the territory of its inception. Today, Amrol (the site of ancient Āmardaka) has three temples of the eighth century.[120] A pilgrim's record of the eighth century is engraved on the local Rāmeśvara Mahādeva temple. It mentions Bhāgacandra, a pilgrim.[121] Āmardaka came into prominence during Rudraśambhu's time. He established his reputation as a highly venerated 'chief of the sages' (*vandyo rudraśambhu munīśvaraḥ*).[122] Rudraśambhu was succeeded by Purandara (*mattamayūranātha*) not at Āmardaka, but at Ranod. From Ranod he moved to Kadwaha. So, we may pass on to Purandara's original seat at Ranod and its *maṭha*.

RANOD

Ranod (also spelled as Ranaud, Rannod, Narod), originally Araṇipadra or Raṇipadra, was the *tapōvana*[123] where Purandara rose to glory before being installed at Mattamayūrapura. Araṇipadra seems to be a compound of *araṇi* (a plant whose wood was particularly useful for igniting fire by friction) and *padra*,[124] "common land" (in a forest). The term *pada* (same as *padra*) is variously explained, as a 'place of living' or, a cave (*guhā*) as in the case of Trita's stone cave (*Rigveda* 9.102.2) or, in the sense of a location which witnessed the 'first kindling of fire' for human use: *johūtro agniḥ prathamaḥ pite ve kaspade manuṣyā yat samiddhaḥ.*[125] Its implication as a shelter in a forest tract with no regular tracks around seems indicated in early texts. Eventually, this tract (*padra*) in the forest (*tapovana*) came to have a *maṭha* and was venerated as a *gurusthāna* (seat of a teacher) after Purandara *guru.*[126] It seems that sometime between Purandara (*c.* 825 CE) and Vyomaśiva (*c.* 925 CE), the *maṭha* decayed substantially (*viśīrṇa vidruta maṭha*) and Vyomaśiva[127] got it rebuilt with the help of the local community (*paurasahitaṃ*).[128] It flourished and came to have granary, gold, jewels, 'neighing horses' and 'trumpeting elephants'.[129] He also embellished the vicinity with *vapī* a (tank) and temples dedicated to Śiva, Umā, Naṭeśa and Vināyaka.[130] The place seems to have become a *tīrtha*, thronged by pilgrims on occasions. The pilgrims, however, were warned against planting trees on the bank of the *vāpī* and sleeping on beds in the monastery. Women among them were not permitted inside the premises of the *maṭha* during night.[131] The *maṭha* and its vicinity continued to flourish and expand after Vyomaśiva too.

---

[118] *Ibid.*

[119] Cf. *E.I.*, 4, 'Karhad Plates of Kṛṣṇa III,' pp. 285-86, lines 58-66. Gaganaśiva of the record is described as: *karhāṭīya valkaleśvara sthānapati karañjakheṭa santati vinirgata Īśānaśivācārya śiṣyāya mahātapasvine sakala śiva siddhāntapāragāya gaganaśivāya ... sakalatapodhana*. Gaganaśiva was granted the village of Kankem along with trees, gardens, all produce and fines on ten offences, etc.: *sa-vṛkṣamālā kulaḥ sadhānya hiraṇyā deyaḥ sa daṇḍa doṣa daśāparadhaḥ sarvotpattisahita ācandrārkannamasyo mayādattaḥ*. The grant was for maintenance of the ascetics who lived at the place.

[120] Amrol temples have been dated by Krishna Deva to the first quarter of 8th century and by Trivedi to the eighth century. See Deva, Krishna (1995): 57-59, Trivedi, R.D. (1990): 70, 86.

[121] Willis (1996):105.

[122] Mirashi (1955): 213, v. 48.

[123] Cf. Ranod Insc (*E.I.*,1, p. 355, v. 15), it is again mentioned as a *tapovana* in Pataṅgaśambhu's inscription in Mirashi (1974): 179, v. 12.

[124] Ancient Malwa region was known for many *padras*, cf. H.V. Trivedi (1991): VII/1 pp. 153, 156. Araṇipadra is mentioned as *araṇipadaṃ* in the Kadwaha Fragmentary Stone Inscription. As such, *pada* may signify the destination of a journey, e.g., *padyate gamyate'smin-padaḥ*. For *pada* as *sthāna* or *pradeśa*, cf, Bohtlingk and Roth (1864, rep. 1966) *Sanskrit Worterbuch*, Osnabruck and Wiesbaden, sv, p. 446.

---

[125] Cf. Pathak, V. S., (1987): *intro*, in Sarla Chopra (1987): *Prachina Bharatiya Patha*, Varanasi: Kala Prakasana.

[126] *Supra*, p. 40. The term *sthāna*, (Mirashi: 1955: 229, v.20; 230, v. 35) may denote the place of residence and/or the office of the presiding chief of a monastery and may be synonymous with the term *pada*.

[127] *E. I.* 1, pp. 355ff, vv. 20, 29, 30. Opinion differs on his identification. Pandit D. Sastrin (1928) identified him with Śivāditya Miśra, the author of the *Saptapadārthī* (*Lakṣaṇamālā*), a text on Vaiśeṣika philosophy. In this attribution, Pandit Sastrin was following the views of Pandit Nilakantha Sastri, the editor of the *Śivādvaitadarpaṇa*, who assumed that Śivāditya *ācārya* was accorded the name Vyomaśiva by his *guru* Siddhacaitanya Śivācārya, after his initiation and as such he occurs in the list of the ascetics of the Śaiva school founded by Vasava in Karnataka in *c.* 1200 CE. According to Gaurinath Sastri, Vyomaśiva was the fifth spiritual successor of Purandara (*mattamayūranatha*), "the founder of two *maṭhas*, one at Mattamayūrapura, probably identical with Ma-yu' lo referred to by I-t'sin, as in the neighbourhood of present Haridvara and the other at Ranipadra...." Cf., Sastri, Gaurinath (1983): I/ ii-v, viii. Gaurinath Sastri places Purandara in 625-40 CE, taking him to be a contemporary of Maukharī ruler Avantivarman who acceeded the throne in 565 CE. He regards Vyomaśiva as belonging to northwest because he mentions Pañcapura (Pañcakarpata, same as Pancagoda on the bank of Panjakora River, a tributary of the Swat) and also Hirathaka, a term for persons from Herat. We however place Vyomaśiva in *c.* 925 CE. That he was a distinguished *ācārya* of Śaiva-Siddhānta is clear from the Ranod inscription itself, which reads: *siddhānteṣu maheśa eśa niyato . . .'* etc.

[128] *E.I.*, 1, p. 357, v. 29.

[129] *Supra*, p. 70.

[130] *E.I.*, 1, pp. 359-360, vv. 44, 51-52. The succession of the ascetics after Purandara was as follows, Kavacaśiva, Sadāśiva, Hṛdayaśiva (Harahāsa), Vyomaśiva and Pataṅgaśambhu. For Pataṅgaśambhu, cf. Mirashi (1974): 179-82.

[131] *EI.* 1, p. 361, v. 66, 67: *pañcaiva teṣāṃ iha pātakāni svapsyanti khaṭvāsu śaṭhā maṭhe ye/yebhyantare mūdhadhiyo rajanyān dāsyantya nāryā vasatiñca nāryāḥ.*

Pataṅgaśambhu[132] who succeeded Vyomaśiva possibly around *c.* 973 CE is said to have raised a Śiva temple 'white like moonlit sky' and 'lofty like the peaks of Kailāsa.'[133] The Gwalior Museum inscription of Pataṅgaśambhu refers to his act of building a temple, a *maṭha*, five wells and ponds besides constructing a *prākāra* (enclosing wall/rampart) and laying a *vāṭikā* (garden/orchard): *maṭham devakulaṃ kūpastaḍāgānāṃ ca pañcakaṃ/prākāro vāṭikā... kārayeta.*[134] There is some doubt whether these works came up at Ranod or at Kadwaha or at some other location. That location could not be Surwaya as this early eighth century work at the site pre-dates Pataṅgaśambhu. Could it be Kadwaha, because the site has a *prākāra, taḍāga, vāṭikā* and several temples around the village? In that case, the beginnings of fortification of the Kadwaha monastery could go back to the tenth century. However, like Surwaya, Kadwaha too predates Pataṅgaśambhu and has no surviving evidence of the (second) monastery that Pataṅgaśambhu claims to have built. Kadwaha therefore cannot be resolved as the site of his operation. Our choice in the situation has to rest with Ranod as Pataṅgaśambhu's site, especially as he was Vyomaśiva's disciple.[135]

Ranod perhaps saw his works come up in the tenth century until they eventually disappeared along with those of his predecessor Vyomaśiva.[136] This apparently would happen as political developments, with the rise of the Sultans of Delhi and their successors, brought about changes in the region. These developments must have impacted the secular and sacred topography of Āraṇipadra from Purandara (*c.* 825 CE) to Pataṅgaśambhu (last quarter of tenth century) that had seen emergence of at least five temples, two *maṭhas*, six water-bodies, a walled enclosure, wells and a garden, all built *sans* any royal patronage.

Today, much of Ranod is in ruins and rubble excepting for its ancient monastery (variously mentioned in records as *gurusthāna, sthāna, āśrama, vasati, maṭha*), with its beautifully laid, accompanying *vāpī*. It also has a tank (Gatlaika *talāo*) five wells, two mosques and three tombs of the seventeenth century.[137] Events kept occuring at Ranod from vs 1526 to vs 1805 and from *Hijra* (*H.*) 732 to *H.* 1204 during the reigns of Muhammad Bin Tughlaq (vs 1674), Shahjahan (*H.* 1043), Aurangzeb (vs 1717, *H.* 1073, 1088, 1098) and Shah Alam II (*H.* 1204). In these events the Siddhānta ascetics stood sidelined and with the passage of time they disappeared from the site altogether, leaving behind only a *maṭha* and a *vāpī* among its ancient relics.

---

[132] Cf. Mirashi (1974): 180-82, vv. 28; 29-37; 39-40.

[133] *Ibid.*, pp. 180-81, v. 28. *Supra*, p. 80, fn. 17, about acquiring the *sthāna* by 'the prowess of his arms.'

[134] Cf. Mirashi (1974): p. 182, v. 40.

[135] *Ibid*, p. 178; also p. 180, v. 20.

[136] The *maṭha* and the enclosure (*prākāra*) mentioned in Pataṅgaśambhu's epigraph as his work cannot refer to the existing Ranod monastery constructed in two stages by Purandara and Vyomaśiva. The inscription on the Ranod *maṭha* affirms that this *maṭha* had been substantially restored by Vyomaśiva (who preceded Pataṅgaśambhu). Then also, if Pataṅgaśambhu's works were to be ascribed to Ranod, these, as their number suggests, would be far in excess of the needs of reclusive *munis* and their disciples living there. They are already found devising controlling mechanisms to discipline pilgrims during Vyomaśiva's time. This is evident from the restrictions imposed upon pilgrims and includes the warning about sins incurred if rules were transgressed. The Ranod inscription has those details. The restrictions were possibly devised to restore the *maṭha*'s sylvan ambience and Pataṅgaśambhu's work, if laid at Araṇipadra, would have only augmented the crowd of pilgrims.

Keilhorn in 1892 described the Ranod monastery (Pl. 15) as "The most remarkable building…reported to be an old Hindu palace." This imposing structure, occupying 36.50 × 31.50 m, is known now as Khokhai *maṭha*.[138] Inscriptions indicate that it was built in stages involving Purandara, Vyomaśiva (and Pataṅgaśmbhu?). It is tempting to suggest that this compact structure was completed in a single attempt, considering that there is little difference in the stone slabs and blocks of the structure. The walls mostly are approximately 0.65 m thick; cell doorways, roof and *chādyas*, even the pillars at different places inside and outside, are similar. Nevertheless, the relevant epigraphic evidence requires a search for different stages in its construction. Therefore, it may be tentatively speculated that the cloisters around its 24.30 m wide court perhaps came up during Purandara's time and the two-storeyed *maṭha* with its tower, covering the flight of steps, was built during Vyomaśiva's time, about a century

---

137. More than a score of inscriptions from Ranod from the fifteenth to seventeenth century indicate a history of the site in which there is absolute silence about Śaiva-Siddhānta or its sages or even its activities. Ranod is mentioned as a *qasba* in vs 1720 and as a *pargana* in the Chanderi *sarkar* of *suba* Malwa in vs 1805. It remained in *faujdari* and *amini* of Husayn Khan and *rai* Mansukh in vs 1720, and others in vs 1724. The *quanungos* of vs 1720 and vs 1805 and its *caudhari* of vs 1720 are also known from records. During all these years it witnessed public works like, digging of wells, construction of *baoli*, including the *akhti-ki-baoli* in vs 1526, 1720, 1724, 1805 and *H.* 1073. Mosques were built in *H.* 732, 825, 1043, 1088, 1204 and one more (un-dated) also came up. A gate was built here in *H.* 1078. Inscriptions also refer to a *ṭhākura* of Ranod in vs 1720; to Ratnākara Deva of *gauḍa anvaya* who built a well and laid a garden in vs 1526; to the Jaina sages of *mūlasamgha* and *Sarasvatīgaccha* in vs 1674; to the making of an image in vs 1674. In the course of such activities, Śaiva-Siddhānta withered away because of demographic, administrative and political changes in Ranod. It may have disappeared by the time of Muhammad Bin Tughlag or even before him, for nothing about it is found recorded after Pataṅgaśambhu (c. 950 CE). For inscriptions from Ranod, cf. Willis (1996): 36, 47, 50, 56-57, 63, 79, 84, 85, 92-96, 98, 99, 104, 119. The memory of Araṇipadra being a centre of Siddhānta Śaivism is however preserved in a MSS of *Prāyaścitta Samuccaya*, which refers to an *āśrama* of Sri Raṇipatraka and to Lambakarṇa, a *muni* belonging to it. He is mentioned as *mattamayūra vaṃśaja*, belonging to the Raṇipatraka *āśrama*. In being the preceptor of Paramāra ruler Siyaka (944-73 CE) he may be similarly dated and that may take the Ranod line of the *mattamayūra santati* upto 973 CE after which the records are silent. If Pataṅgaśambhu is accommodated at Ranod, there might be some alterations in the chronology of successions.

138. A local legend has it that the Goddess of this temple 'moved over to Kadwaya' taking away its glory with her. I owe the information to an attendant of the PWD Rest House at Ranod. The legend captures in essence the historically authentic account about Purandara moving over from Ranod to Kadwaha (Mattamayūrapura).

later.[139] By stretching the point further, it may be added that Purandara's complex was entered from the south-eastern section of the enclosure adjoining the assembly hall (*bāhyasthāna maṇḍapa*). This entry is now closed; and the stonework closing it seems at odds with the walls nearby. If this suggestion has any credence it would follow that the new entry on the northern end and the *maṭha* at the centre of the wall to the south came up during Vyomaśiva's time. Also, if Pataṅgaśambhu had any connection with this *maṭha*, its crenulations could have come perhaps during his time and these were added to the parapet to create an impression of its being fortified. Doubts, however, remain about the attribution of his work at Ranod and the crenulations may as well be assigned to the time when the central part of the *maṭha* was constructed. They do not seem to be a later addition and synchronize well with the roof besides the tower over the flights of steps that lead to the upper storey and its *maṇḍapa* and cells. The tower took care of surveillance over the surroundings even as the crenulations symbolised fortification.

To recapitulate, one may see three possibilities about the time of the *maṭha*'s construction. One option would be to attribute the entire *maṭha*, including all its structures in the compound, to Purandara (ninth century). In this venture, Purandara emulated Surwaya, specially the plan of its *maṭhikā* on the south-western corner. The second option could be to assign the *maṭha* and its pillared *vīthī* on south to Purandara and the rest including the *bāhyasthāna maṇḍapa* (assembly hall) on east and cloisters on the west to Vyomaśiva (tenth century). The third possibility would be to attribute to Vyomaśiva only repairs that perhaps involved the cloisters on the west and the wall near the assembly hall on east. The Ranod inscription explicitly attributes a temple for Śiva with Umā, Naṭyeśvara, Vināyaka to Vyomaśiva. This must have added to the sacredness of the complex but his work on the *maṭha* was perhaps minimal. If Pataṅgaśambhu is at all associated with this *maṭha*, we may hazard a guess that crenulations on its *prākāra* came up during his time. Among the three options, spelled out above, we prefer the first option of Purandara building the entire *maṭha* and Vyomaśiva doing only repairs besides building a *vāpī* and a temple in vicinity. Our preference is based on the form of pillars of the main *maṭha* and the fact that Vyomaśiva carried out more substantive work on the *vāpī* and (now extinct) temples in the vicinity of the *maṭha*. The *vāpī* is eloquently described in his inscription indicating the attention it must have received from Vyomasiva as his contribution.

The entire monastic complex (36.50 × 31.50 m) of Ranod (**Fig. 9**), facing north, stands within an enclosure formed by its outer walls containing structures on all sides. Attached to

---

[139] This arrangement will go against the convention of having temples to the north of the *maṭha*. It fits if the structure and orientation of the main *maṭha* as it stands today is accepted as the work of Purandara. Cunningham described the *maṭha* as having "...an open cloister (in front), with suites of rooms at each end, which form three sides of a courtyard; and outside the courtyard, is a deep square tank with steps leading down to the water's edge, while close by there is a second tank. Cf, Cunninghum A, *Archaeological Survey Reports*, Vol. II, pp. 304-5.

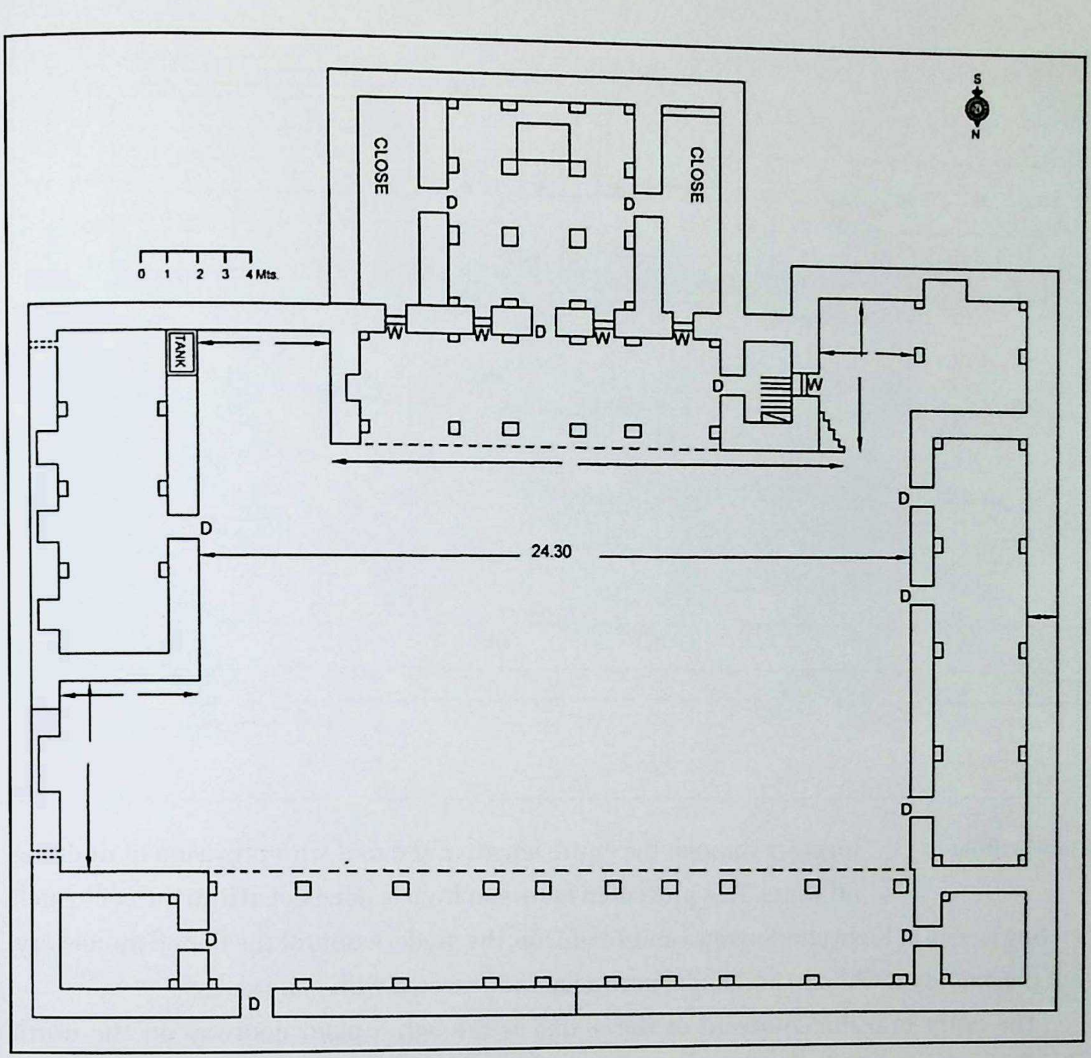


Fig. 9. Ranod *maṭha*, ground floor plan.

this wall on the inner side are cells (W), probably representing a dormitory (*vāsasthāna*) for distinguished personages, pillared *vīthī* (N) which served possibly as *āhāra maṇḍapa*, a *bāhyasthāna maṇḍapa* (E) with an *ajira* (compound) outside and a two-storeyed *maṭha* (17.20 × 9.00 m) at the centre (S). This last member projects out towards the south, breaking the regular continuity of the enclosing rectangular wall, which has another deviant projection on its south-western corner. These cloisters, *vyākhyāna maṇḍapa*, pillared *vīthīs* and *maṭha* together surround a wide and expansive open court. The *maṭha* impresses as a well-conceived, compact structure with a tower on its north-western end abutting its pillared *maṇḍapa*. The tower contains within it a flight of steps leading to the upper storey and the roof. The ceilings of the *maṭha*, *maṇḍapas* and cells are covered inside with flat slabs, fairly large in size. The roof is constructed of long slabs measuring 1 to 5 m covering the top. The sloping roof of the central cell is higher than that of the two other cells by its sides with a difference of 0.5 m between them. The slabs emulated in stone the roofing method of clay-tiles. For this, interlocked slabs with close-fitting capping slab were closely set

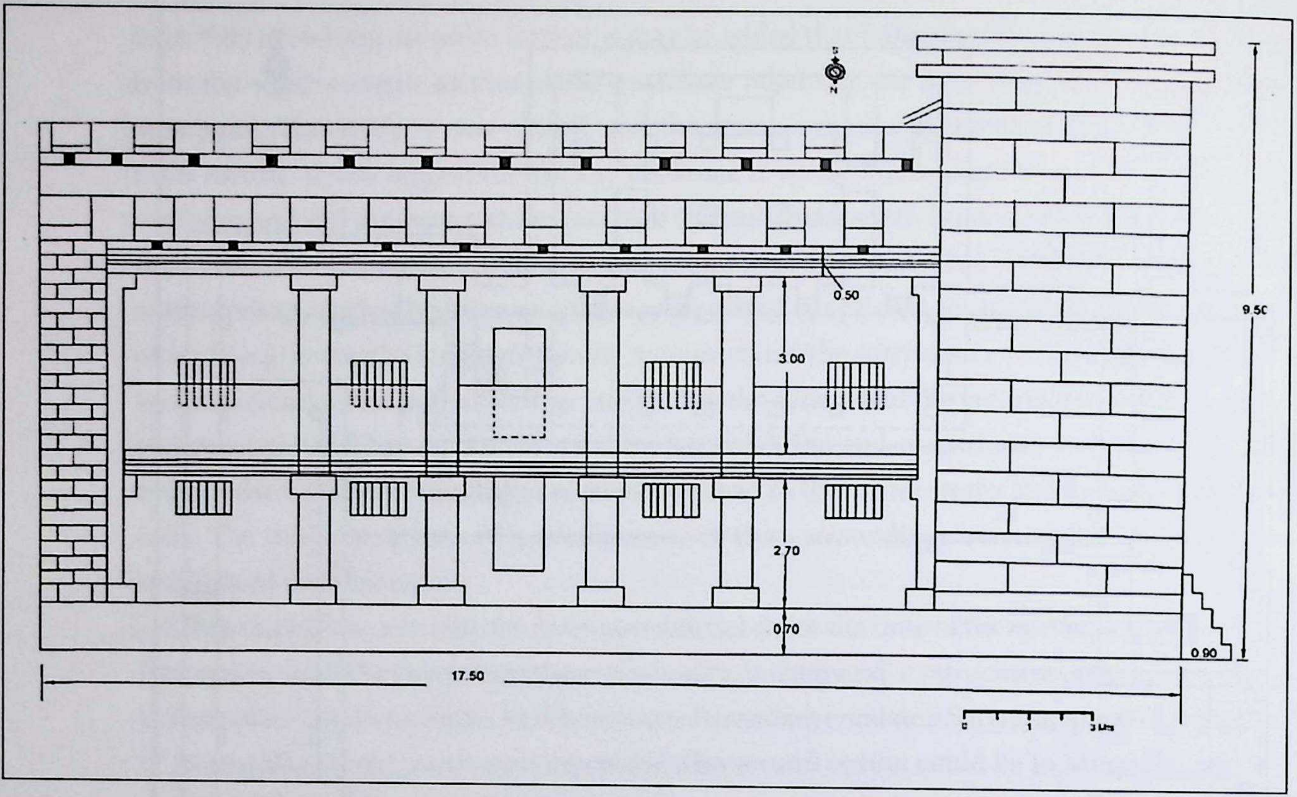


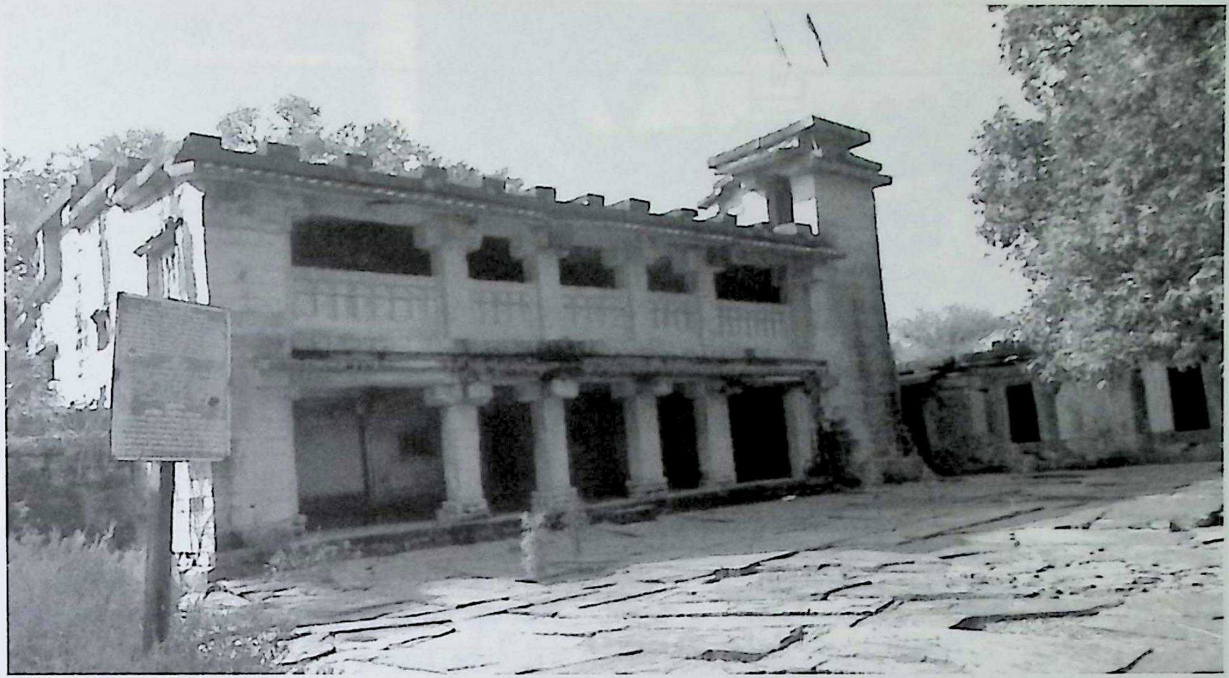
Fig. 10. Ranod *maṭha*: front elevation.

together through the entire length of the roof with provision of draining off water. This prevented rainwater from leaking down into the cells. Such roofing is seen at Kadwaha, Surwaya and Terahi too, the predecessors of the Ranod monastery, but the *maṭhas* at Chunari and Kodal have a flat roof covered with plain slabs.

The entry into the courtyard of the *maṭha* is through a plain doorway on the north carrying a damaged figure on the *lalāṭa*. The doorway leads to the pillared *vīthī* of the north wing beyond which is a wide and expansive courtyard (24.3 m east to west). The northern *vīthī* has a row of nine pillars and a pilaster, with corresponding pilasters abutting the wall behind. Its covered and sloping roof has a corrugated *chādya* projecting out to the courtyard. Two cells facing each other and with doorways are perched on the ends of this pillared *vīthī*. One of these cells in the northeastern corner could have served as *pratihāra gṛha* (guardroom) as it is situated very close to the entrance.

The east wing of the monastery has a large chamber (11 × 3.65 m) containing a water tank. This chamber could have served the purpose of an assembly hall (*vyākhyāna maṇḍapa*). The western wing has a longitudinal, narrow cell with three doorways in a row at intervals. On its southern end, there is another pillared *vīthī* with a cell. The main, two-storeyed structure is centrally located to the south of the open courtyard with its back projecting further out to the south.

This compact, two-storeyed structure (**Fig. 10: Front elevation**) consists of an open pillared *maṇḍapa* in front and a set of cells at the back both on ground and upper floors. A



Pl. 15. Ranod *maṭha.*

tower, enclosing flights of steps for upper storeys, abuts its western end (**Pl. 15**). The open *maṇḍapa* on the ground floor rests on two rows of six pillars and pilasters, the outer row having four pillars and two pilasters from east to west and the inner row similarly having six pilasters abutting the wall that contains the entrance doorway.

The entrance in the centre, at the rear of the open *maṇḍapa*, leads to the inner chamber that has four rows of pillars and pilasters (**Fig. 9**). Four pillars form a *catuṣkī* and occupy the centre of this chamber; their corresponding pilasters in a row are abutted to the sidewalls. This chamber contains a *pīṭhikā* (platform: 1.30 × 1.65 × 0.65 m) touching two of the central pillars. The wall at the back has two large animal-headed stone pegs to hang things on. The chamber also has two cells on its flanks with carved, un-sculpted doorways. In these details, the Ranod *maṭha* with its plan of a central chamber flanked by rectangular cells recalls the pattern of Surwaya's south-western *maṭhikā* described above. The *pīṭhikā* in the central chamber was perhaps intended to facilitate the presiding *muni*'s audience, investiture, and discourse to devotees and *dīkṣā* whenever occasioned.[140] The rectangular cells on the sides of the chamber could have served as stores. They have mortises, inside, on the floor, to take in the tenons of wooden doors. The doors are missing now. These cells too have the stone pegs in the shape of heads of a lion, camel and horse, as we noticed at Surwaya. There are two grilled stone windows in the inner chamber and one in each cell that flank it. A flight of steps, on the

---

[140] It cannot be a shrine because if it were so the space above it on the upper floor would be segregated to preserve its sanctity, as is the conventional belief. As it is, the upper floor has a large chamber (7.10 × 5.50 m).

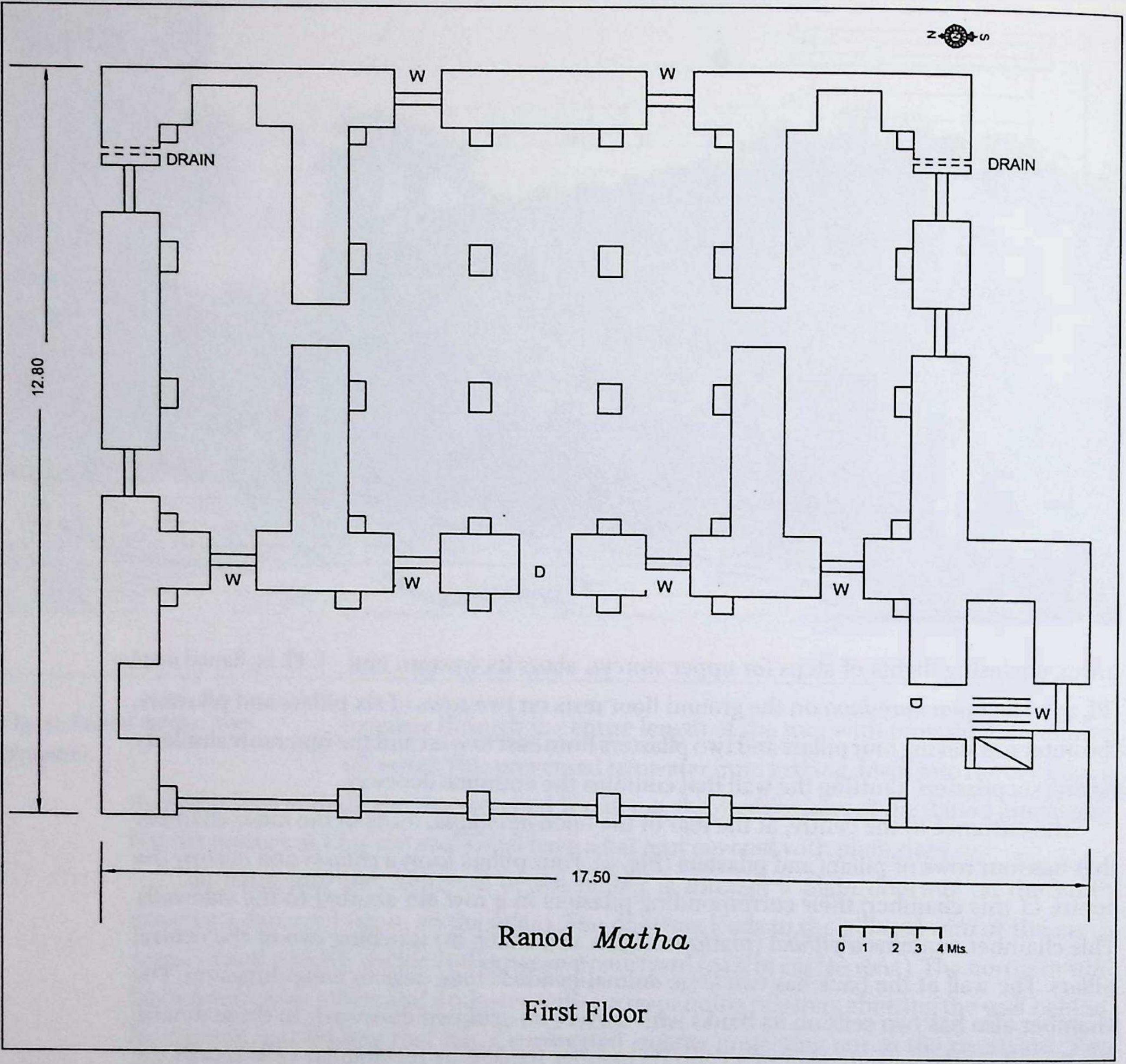
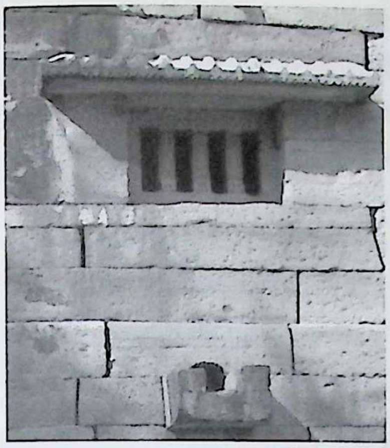
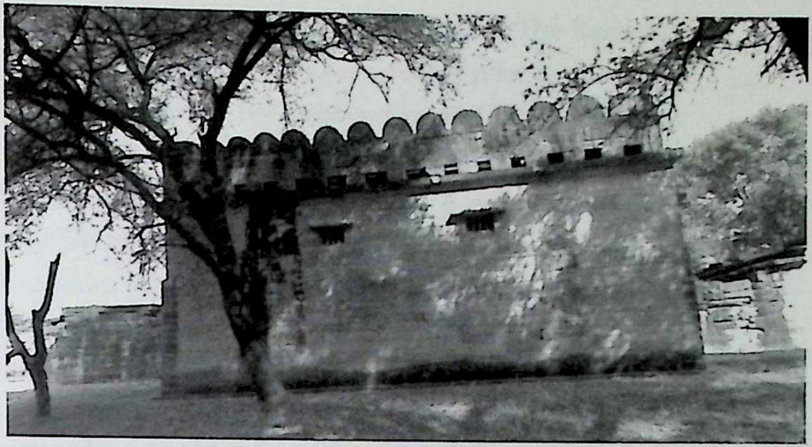


Fig. 11. Ranod *maṭha*: first floor.

east, in the *maṇḍapa* (porch) leads to the upper floor which has better ventilation and illumination, thanks to its grilled windows. In addition, two well-carved recessed windows with balusters and a *chādya* above, figure on a sidewall (Pl. 16).

The upper floor of the monastery (**Fig. 11** plan) almost repeats the plan of the ground floor. A flight of steps from the porch of the ground floor leads to the open *maṇḍapa* of the first floor. The *maṇḍapa* is made of a row of four pillars in the front and two corresponding pilasters. On the southern wall it has six corresponding pilasters projecting from the wall that encloses a chamber and its adjoining cells on flanks. This chamber (7.10 × 5.50 m), like the one below, has four pillars in the centre and twelve corresponding pilasters on four sides,





Left:
Pl. 16. Apartment with recessed window, a *chādya* and a drain at Ranod *maṭha*.

Right:
Pl. 17. Ranod *maṭha*, south wall with windows, openings and battlements.

which together constitute four rows of pillars and pilasters. The two flanking cells (both measuring 7.10 × 2.25 m) are entered through their doorways and have drains to expel water used for ablution. One of these cells has a stone rack too to hold things. This entire set is well-lighted and airy, thanks to the stone-grilled *gavākṣas* of the chambers and cells and the row of uniform openings on the south wall, which are arranged above the capping moulding (**Pl. 17**) over which ultimately rise the row of battlements. With its substantial accommodation, this entire set may represent the presiding *muni*'s exclusive *vāsa-gṛha* (dwelling) with space for stores. The cells around the courtyard on the ground floor served as dormitories.

A flight of steps on the western flank of the open *maṇḍapa* leads to the roof of the *maṭha* through a door (2.10 × 0.75 m). The sloping roof, (see above) rising in three levels, is made of interlocking slabs contained within the surrounding parapet. The parapet of the *maṭha* with battlements, uniformly placed all around, may symbolically mark its fortification.

The monasteries of Ranod, Surwaya and Kadwaha present a fairly integrated pattern of such retreats and belong to the early phase of rise of Siddhānta ascetics. Once in place they continued to grow as the ascetics' strongholds reflecting their power and glory in substance. Besides these, several other *maṭhas* related to Siddhanta ascetics also came at other locations. The following chapter has the details.

4

Monastic Architecture: *Maṭhas* 2

We may begin our account with Madhumatī (Mahua, in Shivpuri district) that lay in the rocky woodlands of Gopācala (**Map 1**). It was one of the most celebrated centres of Siddhānta Śaivism, and epigraphs confirm it as an 'abode' (*dhāma*) of Siddhāntins. The 'abode', referring apparently to the *maṭha* at Madhumatī, has disappeared now. Madhumatī came into reckoning by the seventh century with its 'beautiful' (*ramya*) stone *maṇḍapikā* (*śilā maṇḍapikā*) of Dhūrjaṭī and the epigraph it carries. The epigraph records that Vatsarāja, a local chieftain, had got it built and that the inscription on the temple was 'written' by Īśāna who hailed from Kānyakubja.[1] The inscription also describes Īśāna as a 'follower' (*anugāmī*) of Vatsarāja. The *maṇḍapikā*[2] (650-675 CE) of Madhumatī and its inscription of the same date firmly echoing Siddhānta proclivity, coincide with inception of Śaiva-Siddhānta at Kadwaha during the time of Kadambaguhādhivāsī (*c.* 675 CE).[3] Records elsewhere affirm such associations. Thus, in recounting the past the Chandrehe inscription

---

[1] *E.I.* 37, pp. 52-56. Vatsarāja did this for welfare of his parents and for increasing *dhana*, *ratna* and *kośa*. This *praśasti* was composed by *bhaṭṭa* Iśāna, son of *bhaṭṭa* Somānka, cf. *E.I.* 37, p. 55. The editors date this inscription to the middle of the eighth century but it is regarded as a seventh century record. As for Dhūrjaṭī, he is invoked elsewhere too, in the Ranod inscription (vv. 4, 34, 41) and again in the Chandrehe inscription (v. 8), both issued by the Siddhānta *ācāryas* later. Ranod inscription invokes his dancing form for protection. The connection between the Dhūrjaṭīs of these records is therefore obvious; so is the attribution of Siddhānta patronage to the *maṇḍapikā*. The benedictory verse of the inscription propagates Siddhānta theology.

[2] Deva. Krishna (1995: 55) assigns it to 650-675 CE. This date is coeval to Kadambaguhādhivāsī (*c.* 675 CE) at Kadambaguhā.

[3] Madhumatī is situated near Kadwaha and its association with Kadambaguhādhivāsī, who had his *guhā* in Kadwaha, may not be unlikely. Accepting Kadambaguhā's association with Madhumatī may resolve the occupation of Mattamayūrapura (Kadwaha) by Purandara as its 'first *guru*' (*tatra prathamaḥ*), later in *c.*825 CE. However, in the records both the sites are represented as independent centres with collateral lineages of ascetics.

(973 CE) exaltingly describes Madhumatī's celebrated Mattamayūra ascetics.[4] The Kalacuri inscriptions repeatedly glorify the Madhumatī line of ascetics even as they refer to its *munis* being invited and settled in different monasteries in the Ḍāhala region.[5] The Gurgi Stone Inscription of Kokalladeva II (last quarter of tenth century) underscores its eminence as an 'abode of Siddhāntikas' (*Madhumatī dhām Saiddhantikānāṃ*)[6] containing 'excellent *ācāryas* of noble conduct.' The reference in the Gurgi inscription to its Siddhāntika 'abode' (*dhāma*), 'mansion' (*saudha*) and successive ascetics confirm the presence once of a major *maṭha* here. The prosperity of Madhumatī matched that of 'heavenly world with the quantities and lustre of large and resplendent jewels set on the rows of its high mansions.' The Gurgi record reiterates that the (once existent *maṭha* at the) site had witnessed appearance of 'the first best of ascetics' (*purve yatravatīrya*) 'whose minds were restrained by vows', who taught the 'great and flawless doctrine of Śiva to their disciples' and whose fame was like 'the glow of nectar' that 'brightens the universe' and delights 'prosperous and learned men...as moonlight does the assemblage of night lotuses'.[7] Besides its retreat of ascetics and Śiva-Dhūrjaṭī *maṇḍapikā* (650-675 CE), Madhumatī also witnessed construction of two other temples: a Śiva temple with *śikhara* (675 CE) and a Cāmuṇḍā shrine (mid-ninth century) without *śikhara*, on the bank of Mahuar River.[8]

Madhumatī turned out to be an inexhaustible source of Mattamayūra ascetics emigrating to the near and distant places, including eastern Madhya Pradesh, Andhra and elsewhere, carrying the glory of the *golakī maṭha* of Gurgi with them. Strangely enough, the sacred and famous Madhumatī also figures as a site of tragic happenings where time and again women immolated themselves, as '*satī*'. Two memorial stones respectively of VS 1688 and 1765 record such instances at Madhumatī.[9] The nature of sacred sites of the Mattamayūras altered in other ways too. Originally inaugurated as sacred centres in *tapovana*s, some of the *maṭha* sites (Kadwaha and Ranod, for instance) witnessed the growth of large settlements around them, but others, like Surwaya and Chandrehe, remained in solitude. Remotely placed and sometimes hard to reach, some of these sites stand solitary even today. The ruins of the surviving *maṭhas*, however, are imposing.

Other *maṭhas*, surviving or extinct, are known from Thubon and Chanderi in Gopācala besides Kodal and Chunari in the Ḍāhala region. We may first describe Thubon and Chanderi of Gopacala and follow them up with the *maṭhas* of Ḍāhala region at Gurgi, Bilhari, Chandrehe, Bheraghat-Tripuri, Chunari and Kodal, some extinct and others surviving.

---

4. Cf. Mirashi, (1955): 200, vv. 4-5.
5. *Supra*, pp. 50-53.
6. Mirashi (1955): 227, 231 (tr.), vv. 3-4.
7. *Ibid*, for translations, see *ibid*, p. 231.
8. Cf. Trivedi, R.D. (1990): 67-70; 119-21. Deva, Krishna (1995:55, 56) assigns the *maṇḍapikā* to 650-675 CE and the Śiva temple (2) to *c.* 675 CE.
9. Willis (1996): 51, 61.

CHANDERI AND THUBON

The Chanderi *maṭha* was founded by Prabodhaśiva, who is different from Chandrehe's homonymous ascetic. Prabodhaśiva (*alias* Sampannakāma) of the Budhi Chanderi inscription seems to have descended from Dharmaśambhu (same as Dharmaśiva) of Kadwaha and had two other *munis* preceding him. Both Kadwaha and Budhi Chanderi records are silent about the names of these two ascetics but Prabodhaśiva's retreat, built in 1042 CE, is described in the Budhi Chanderi inscription as 'a vast and lofty' *āśrama* on the bank of Urvaśī River.[10] The Chanderi *maṭha* appears to have been an offshoot of the Kadwaha line, coming up sometime after the displacement of ascetics of Kadwaha as a sequel to the Gobhaṭa episode.[11] It refers to 'resistance' and fear arising out of the 'loss of property',[12] which must have led to uncertainties at Kadwaha. It is said that 'remaining under self-control' and 'fearing the loss of property', Prabodhaśiva 'endeavoured to establish an abode that will last long' and thus he 'created this abode' for 'welfare of the people'. The hermitage, with its 'buildings covering the vast land on the bank of the river' and 'rising up to the sky', was supposed to be a physical manifestation of Prabodhśiva's 'glory'. The record says that 'by the impact of this place all the earlier resistance has been put to an end' and deer and wild animals roam around in company of the 'sinless' Prabodhaśiva and other ascetics. The *maṭha* however disappeared in time, leaving little of its structures to account for it.[13]

Yet another incipient *maṭha*, not recorded but existent nevertheless, is seen at Thubon near Chanderi, situated on a diversion from the Chanderi-Isagarh road. This unpretentious retreat (**Pl. 18**) may better be understood as a *vasati* (dwelling place or one for overnight dwelling),[14] *siddhasthāna* or *tapasthāna* (abode of *siddhas* or that for penance). It is a part of Thubon's Sita ki Madhia complex of temples.[15] Now roofless and dilapidated, this structure with a reconstructed doorway replicates the features of the larger *maṭhas* of Kadwaha, Surwaya and Ranod. These features relate to: (i) its walls made of huge stone blocks like those on the

---

[10] Jain and Trivedi (1976): 89-90, v. 10: *tenedaṃ āśrama akāri bhuvi prasiddhamāsādhya puṇyajalahasantim ullasantīṃ*. This *āśrama* was built close to a river named as Girijā *sapatnī* (*girijāsaptnyāsthāne*) which may denote the Orr River that flows close to Budhi Chanderi. Jain and Trivedi, (1976): 88.

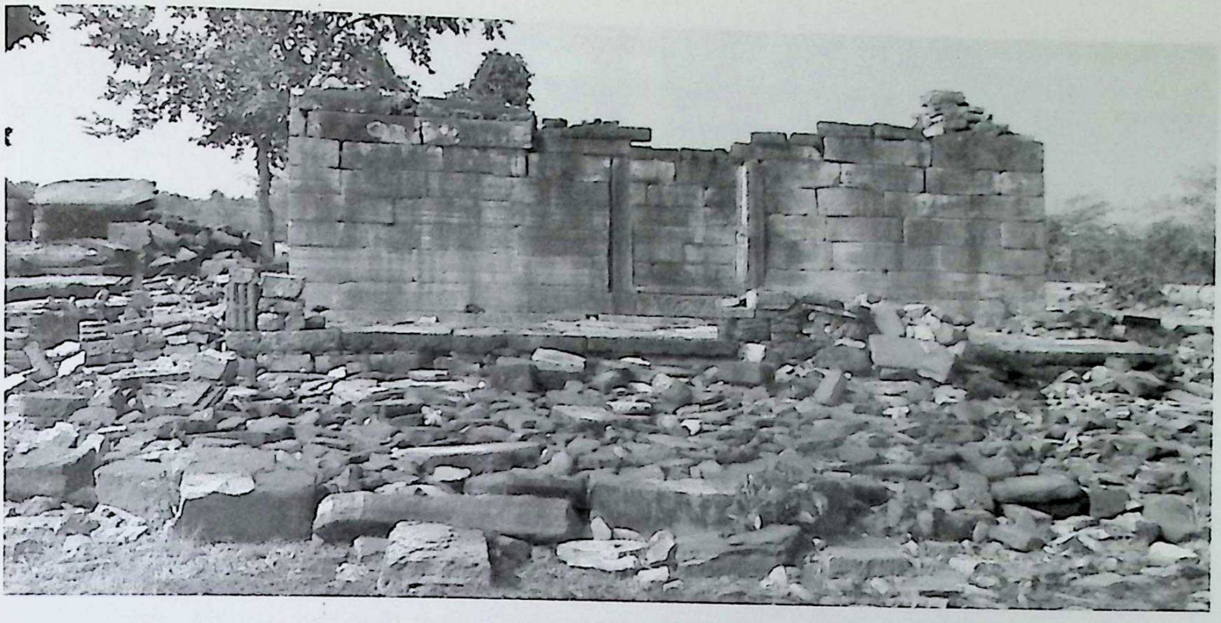
[11] *Supra*, p. 71.

[12] Jain and Trivedi (1976): 89 v. 13. The verse may be recalling the uncertainties following the armed encounter at Kadwaha. The circumstances then might have led to the exodus of some of the disciples of Dharmaśiva from Kadwaha to Thubon-Chanderi until finally Prabodhaśiva founded an *āśrama* on the Orr River near Chanderi.

[13] Dr S.K. Dwivedi in a personal discussion told me that the ruins of this *maṭha* still lie beside the Orr River and are visible from the Chanderi fort.

[14] Williams, M. Monier (rep.2006), sv.

[15] The terms *tapasthāna* and *siddhasthāna* occur in the Gurgi inscription. Cf. Mirashi (1955): 228, 232, vv.13, 14.

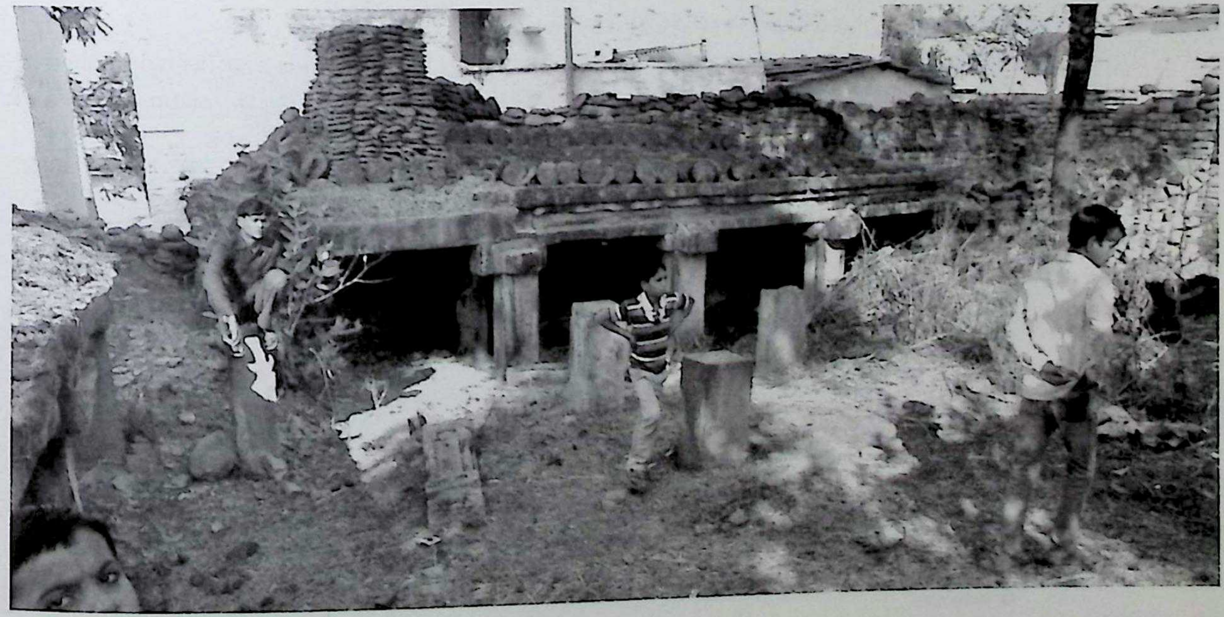


Pl. 18. Thubon: ascetics' retreat.

external wall of the Kadwaha (ground floor) and other *maṭhas*, (ii) simple, austere form devoid of adornment, and (iii) an accompanying temple, now ruined. The Sita ki Madhia temple and its group of fifteen other temples stand near it and they are all in a highly decayed state; the same is true of this *vasati* too. Architecturally, it is a low rectangular structure with a sculpted doorway which is a later addition. Inside, on its floor on one end, there is an evenly made square depression, perhaps an altar. It also has slabs ubiquitously abutted to its inner walls on all the sides, which could have been used for sitting or for holding the belongings of peripatetic ascetics.

There is yet another Siddhanta *maṭha* at Indor (**Pl. 19**) with remnants of its two wings now in use as a cowshed and for other domestic utilities

Pl. 19. Remains of the *maṭha* at Indor.



of the present occupant. It is an unprotected, un-conserved monument with stone blocks and ponderous, square pillars. These pillars have architraves above them to support the roof. Similar pillars are seen in the *maṭhas* at Kadwaha, Surwaya and Ranod and it seems to be a tenth century work.

THE *MAṬHAS* IN ḌĀHALA REGION

GOLAKĪ (*GOLAGNIKA*) *MAṬHA* OF GURGI

Gurgi near Rewa must have been the site of the original *golakīmaṭha*, the first in the chain of *Golakīs*.[16] It is mentioned in the Chandrehe inscription as *golagnika*.[17] Gurgi, a village near Rewa, today exists as colloquial version of its original name *golagnika* and seems to retain its original connections in extensive ruins. The Chandrehe record (v. 5) avers that Yuvarājadeva (915-945 CE) established Prabhāvaśiva of Madhumatī (at Gurgi) for which substantial grants were made according to the Gurgi record.[18] These grants apparently are different from the gift of 'three hundred thousand villages' by the second Yuvarājadeva (980-990 CE). According to the Malkapuram inscription, the gift was made to the *ācārya* of the *maṭha* that is described as *golakī*.[19] It also marks the beginning of the practice of founding Siddhānta *maṭhas* and designating them as *golakī*, in central India and elsewhere.[20] The chain of such *maṭhas* called *golakī* was fairly extensive and included *golakī* monasteries at Gurgi and Maihar[21] in Madhya Pradesh and many others mentioned in the inscriptions from Malkapuram, Pushpagiri, Tripurantaka and other places in the Tamil region.[22] There could have been a *golakī maṭha* at Gwalior whence Gorkhī, one of its localities today, derived its name.

---

[16] If derived from *gola* (or *golaka*), one of its meanings would signify it as 'conjunction of all the planets in one sign'. Could it denote conjunction of Siddhāntins at this monastic centre? *Golaka* refers to different shapes, size, individuals, astronomical devices or planetary conjunctions, among other things. Cf. Williams, M. Monier (rep.2006): *sv.*, p.368.

[17] Mirashi (1955): 200, v. 5. Gurgi is now totally in ruins. Its ancient remains have been described by several scholars. Cf. Cunningham, A (1885): *Archaeological Survey Reports*, Vol. 21, pp.149-154; and Banerji (1931): 41-45.

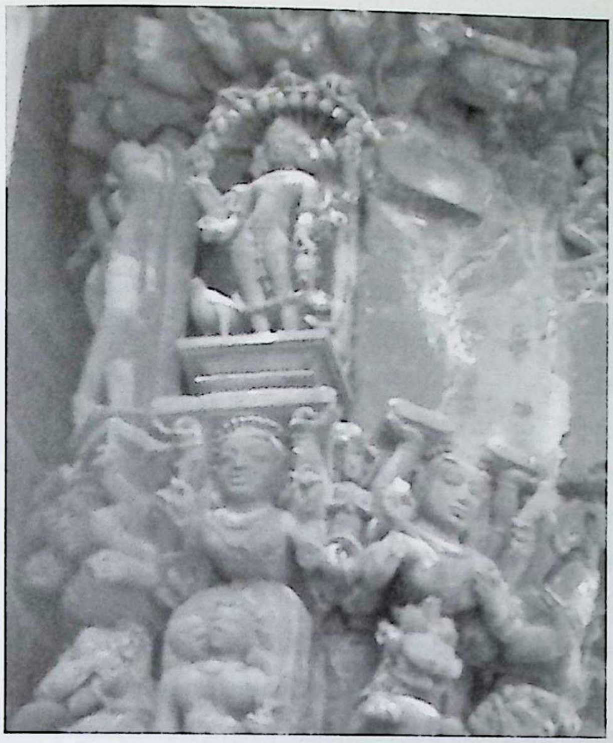
[18] *supra*, pp. 64-65.

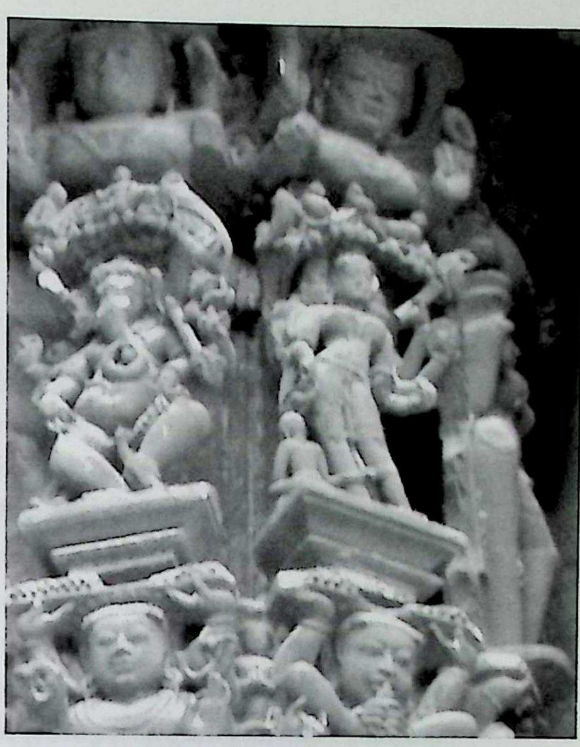
[19] Sircar (1983): 580, v. 26. *Golakī maṭha* is mentioned in the verse.

[20] Cf, Pathak (1960): 34, fn. 4, referring to Siddhānta ascetic Lambakarṇa: *śrī raṇipatrakāśramād gorathikā maṭhe gamāt. Gorathikā* sounds like *Golakī*.

[21] The tenth century temple of Maihar (in Satna District of M.P.) is locally known as *golāmaṭha*, and seems to be reminiscent of once having been part of a monastic complex where the temple survived but the monastery, *golakī maṭha* in other words, disappeared.

[22] Cf. Pathak (1960): 31-32. He refers to *golakīs* in the inscription from Pushpagiri, Tripurantaka, Alugurajupalli and Malkapuram in the Telugu region. Inscriptions from the Tamil region including those of Vīra Pāṇḍya similarly refer to several other *golakī maṭhas*. The Krishna *golakī maṭha* is mentioned in a Tinivarur inscription. *Ibid.* The term eventually started denoting a lineage (*vaṃśa*) and as such it occurs in the Malkapuram inscription (Sircar 1983: 586, v.70) of Rudrāmbā that dates to 1261 CE.





Left:
Pl. 20. Kārttikeya on *toraṇa*, Gurgi gate Rewa (palace).

Right:
Pl. 21. Gaṇapati.

Praśāntaśiva, one of the most celebrated ascetics of Golagnika who succeeded Prabhāvaśiva, added further to the earlier constructions in that *maṭha* when he built another temple at the site. The Gurgi inscription states that 'To the north of the (Somanatha) temple...which was caused to be built by Yuvarājadeva (I), he erected a temple of Īśvara...' and installed Īśa-Umā (*Umayā ca miśramīśaṃ*) and six-faced Kārttikeya 'in the shrines attached to the temple and Gaṇapati and Sarasvatī at the gate'.[23] The temple built by Praśāntaśiva is said to have vied with that of Yuvarājadeva in glory as it was 'well-known on earth' and high like 'the summit of Sumeru (mountain).' An object of 'wonder to all the three worlds', it served, as it were, 'as the flight of steps to his fame rising to heaven'. Of these works, the temple has disappeared but the *toraṇa* (gate) with the sculptures of Kārttikeya (**Pl. 20**), Gaṇapati (**Pl. 21**) and Sarasvatī has survived, re-set within a huge, modern gate of the Rewa palace. The Īśa-Umā image similarly separated from the same extinct temple is now kept under a canopy in a park in Rewa. The Gurgi ruins are extensive but its monuments and *maṭha* are totally lost.

Praśāntaśiva also promoted Chandrehe besides his original seat at *golagnika*. This was in addition to the seats of penance (*siddhasthāna* and *tapasthāna*) that he established on the bank of the Son River and at Varanasi on Ganga.[24] Varanasi eventually came to have a monastery and its Siddhānta ascetics of Durvāsā lineage went to Bangarh (anc. Koṭivarṣa in the Puṇḍravardhana *bhukti*) in Bengal. Their line is known to have lasted from 977 to 1043 CE.[25] The *tapasthāna* started at Varanasi by Praśāntaśiva of Golagnika/*golakī maṭha* (of Gurgi) could have been instrumental in the spread of Siddhānta ascetics in Bengal. Vidyāśiva, the first *ācārya* of Bangarh *maṭha* in Bengal was after all a scion of *golagī*![26] Prasāntaśiva continued at Golagnika but he patronized Chandrehe too. We will return to Prasāntaśiva's Chandrehe soon. In the meanwhile, let us briefly move over to *maṭha*s of Bilhari and Maihar.

---

[23] Mirashi (1955): 228, 232, v. 12.

[24] Mirashi 1955): 228, 232, v. 13, 14.

THE NOW EXTINCT *MAṬHAS* AT BILHARI AND MAIHAR

Hṛdayaśiva who, according to the Bilhari Stone Inscription (vv. 55-58) was the 'fame of Madhumatī lineage' was established in the Vaidyanātha *maṭha* that most likely existed at Maihar. The inscription has it that Lakṣmaṇarāja II, a Kalacuri ruler, invited him sending precious presents'.[27] He then installed him at Vaidyanātha *maṭha* whereupon the ascetic passed the charge of Nauhaleśvara *maṭha* (of Bilhari) to his disciple Aghoraśiva.[28] It seems that the seat at Nauhaleśvara *maṭha* built (at Bilhari) by Nohalā for Īśvaraśiva, a sage of the Madhumatī line, had no ascetic in charge, which necessitated this rearrangement.

Neither Bilhari nor Maihar[29] has any trace of a *maṭha* today, though the temple at Maihar is locally known as the *golāmaṭha*, apparently recalling the *golakīmaṭha* tradition connected to Gurgi and Tripuri.

CHANDREHE

Praśāntaśiva, who followed Prabhāvaśiva at Gurgi, did not limit his activities to Golagnika alone: he patronised Chandrehe too, where he built a temple and set up an *āśrama* in the woods.[30] In that act of establishing his retreat at Chandrehe, the *muni* was emulating the practice of taking over sylvan territory, much as Purandara and Rudraśiva did earlier in respect of the *tapovana*s of Araṇipadra and Āmardakatīrtha. The work on the *āśrama* at Chandrehe however seems to have been concluded by Prabodhaśiva after the latter succeeded Īśānaśambhu. The Chandrehe record is clear about this. It states (verse 7) that Praśāntaśiva built the *Praśāntāśrama* 'at the confluence of the river Śoṇa'; that the *āśrama* occupied 'the

---

[25] Sircar, D.C. (1983b) 34-56. The ascetics in this lineage were Vidyāśiva, Dharmaśiva (he built a temple at Varanasi), Indraśiva, Sarvaśiva Mūrtiśiva and Rūpaśiva. The Bangarh line started with the third ascetic Indraśiva.

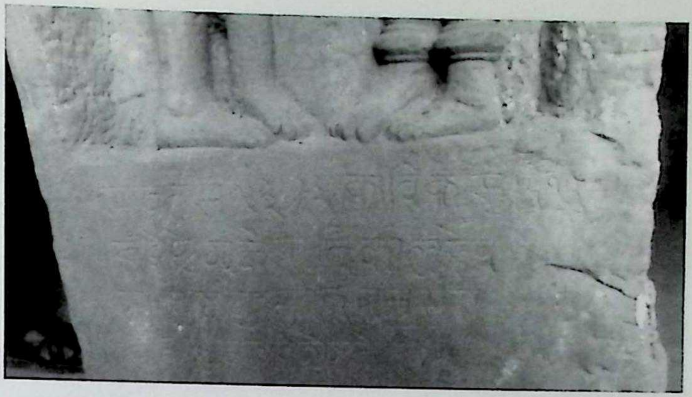
[26] *Ibid.*

[27] *Supra*, pp. 51-52.

[28] Cf. Mirashi (1955): 213, v. 58. Nohalā, the consort of Yuvarājadeva I made village grants to the Nauhaleśvara *maṭha*. It came to have other income too during the time of Yuvarājadeva II.

[29] For Bilhari as an early medieval urban centre, cf., Chattopadhyaya, Brajadulal (1994): 176-178. For its ruins, cf. Misra (1987b): 87-88, Banerjee (1931): 46-47, Cunningam, A., *ASR* (1873-74, 1874-75):34-37. For Maihar, see Misra (1987b): 85-86, pl. VII, B.

[30] Mirashi (1955): 200, 202, v. 7.



Pl. 22. memorial inscription in the *maṭha* at Chandrehe.

foot of the Bhramara hills' in the 'forests of *priyāla* trees' (*Buchanania latifolia*)' and was 'well known to people'.[31] The *maṭha* finds mention again in the record (verse 16) and this time it is attributed to Prabodhaśiva who, it is stated, 'erected' this 'lofty and spacious *maṭha*' (*samunnataṃ*), near the temple (*surāgāra*) built by his *guru*.[32] The Gurgi inscription too attributes the *maṭha* to Prabodhaśiva.[33] It appears that while Praśāntaśiva built the Chandrehe temple to its completion, his work on the *maṭha* remained incomplete and his disciple Prabodhaśiva concluded it in 973 CE. This *maṭha* is poetically described in two verses in the Chandrehe inscription, as follows:

> At night, cool breezes waft through this hermitage (*āśrama*), spraying the waters of the Śoṇa, with loud roars like those of lions that makes the sky reverberate, while clouds like swarms of bees hover around the mountain peaks and great medicinal plants glow in the dark—causing people to suspect that lightening flashes (verse: 14).
>
> In this place, troops of monkeys kiss the cubs of lions (and) the young ones of a deer suck at the breast of the lioness. Other hostile animals forget their (natural) antipathy...for the minds of all become tranquil in the penance grove (verse: 15).[34]

The Gurgi inscription also refers to Prabodhaśiva excavating a 'sea-like lake' and a 'well having copious water'. This tranquil penance forest with its monastery and temple in sylvan surroundings eventually developed into a *grāma* (village) and is mentioned as such in a memorial inscription (**Pl. 22**) that lies stored in the *maṭha* at Chandrehe. The object of the inscription is to record the immolation of the wife of Varaṃha (Brahma) who was the son of Karamū and grandson of *sādhu* Gaṅgū bearing the *viruda* '*trikāladeva*', on the thirteenth of the bright half of Kārtika of the (*Vikrama*) year 1373. Written in Nāgarī script, its language is Sanskrit. It reads:

line 1: *saṃvat su 1373 kārtika sudī 13*
line 2: *candrehe grāme pra trikāladeva*

---

[31] *Ibid.*, p. 199. The *āśrama* at the foot of Bhramara hills is still called Bhramarasen.

[32] *Ibid.*, pp. 201, 203, v. 16.

[33] Ibid., p. 232, translation of v. 21, which refers to '[a *maṭha* near the temple] built by his teacher (Praśāntaśiva) which ... [the celestial beings] do not cross for fear of obstruction in the attainment of the siddhas'. This *maṭha* is ascribed to Prabodhaśiva in the inscription.

[34] Mirashi (1955): 203; based on translation by Mirashi.

line 3: *sādhu gaṅgū suta karamū suta*
line 4: *varaṃha satī vijonnate*

The last word of the fourth line *vijonnate* refers to 'victory'—perhaps over the material world. Starting as a forest tract (*vana*) of the Bhramara hills near the Son River, the *vana* had turned into 'Chandrehe village' in VS 1373/1315 CE. It had started accepting ascetics of other Orders too. It appears that besides the Siddhāntins, other ascetics like 'Jogī Makaradhvaja 700' (this inscription figures on the jamb of the temple), also found refuge in the *maṭha*.

ARCHITECTURE OF THE CHANDREHE *MAṬHA*

Of all the surviving *maṭhas*, only the *Praśāntaśrama* of Chandrehe,[35] carries figural representations on the doorways and wall. It is conspicuous for its open *pragrīvaka* (porch), a vault for keeping wealth and perhaps silos to store agricultural produce. The *maṭha* at Chandrehe is well provided with dormitories, assembly halls and spaces for meditation, learning, offerings in ritual fire, yogic practices like *āsana*, *prāṇāyāma*, prayers and penance, reading and writing texts and other sundry activities related to Siddhāntika ascetic life.[36]

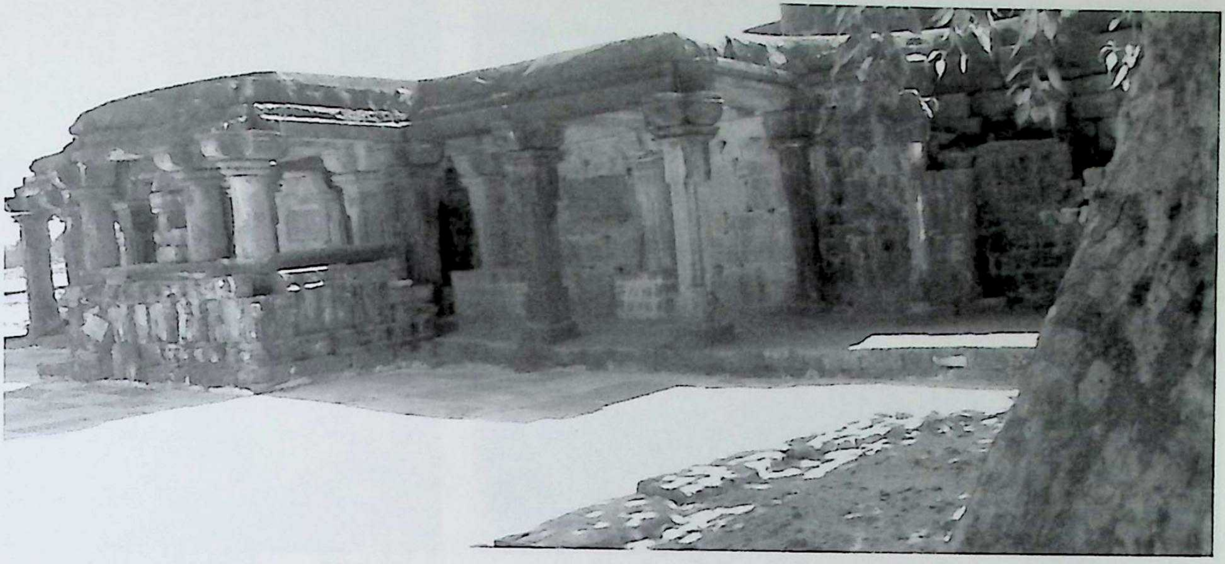
The Chandrehe *maṭha* (**Pl. 23**) has an open *pragrīvaka* (porch) in the north that rest on an adorned *pīṭha* made of two successive mouldings above the ground. Above these mouldings are perched carved, double foiled upright slabs alternating with *rājasenaka* fillets showing *miśraka* balusters with *ghaṭa-pallava* form on the base and summit. It is surmounted by an overhanging *kapota* adorned with a row of *siṃhakarṇas*. The dwarf pillars, in a row above it, support the ceiling of the porch, which at places is adorned with an *ardharatnaka* frieze. These elements are found rudimentarily sketched (as a *hastalekha*) on a slab of the monastery. The porch provides a pleasing approach to the monastery through a pillared *vīthī* that has ten surviving pillars and their twelve corresponding pilasters on the back wall. The roof of the *vīthī* has mostly crumbled now. This pillared *vīthī* contains a doorway that leads to the interior of the two-storeyed monastery.

This doorway is sculpted with figures on the *peḍya* and *uttaraṅga* (**Pl. 24**) which makes it unique, as all other *maṭhas* have only plain doorways. The *uttaraṅga* of the doorway has Naṭeśa in the centre and Sarasvatī and another female divinity on the terminals. All these divinities are accompanied by diminutive figures of emaciated ascetics and devotees shown sitting by the feet of the divinities and playing on musical instruments. A flute is identifiable among these instruments. One of the devotees wears a necklace and an armlet. The *peḍyas* of the doorway carry Ganga and Yamuna with Śaiva *dvārapālas* and an attendant holding *chatra* over the head of the river goddesses.

---

[35] This *maṭha* has received much attention. Cf., Sears, Tamara I (2008): 9, fn 30, quoting reports and writings of R.D. Banerji (1931), J.D. Beglar (1879), John Marshal (1920-21), Henry Cousens (1906-07) and Donald Stadner (nd).

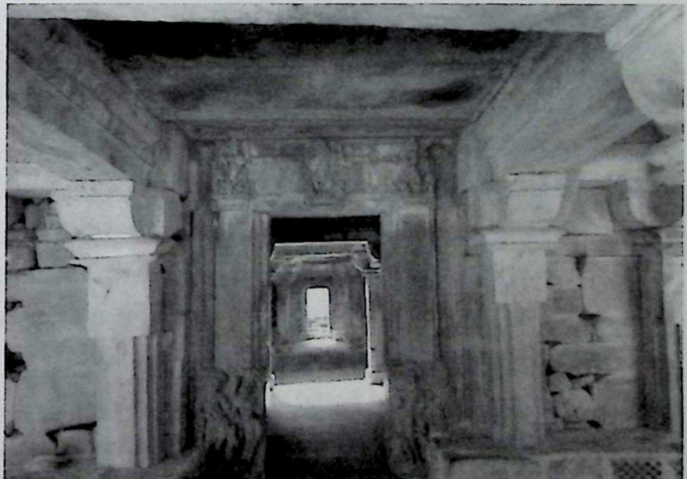
[36] For these practices, see: *supra*, pp. 56-63.



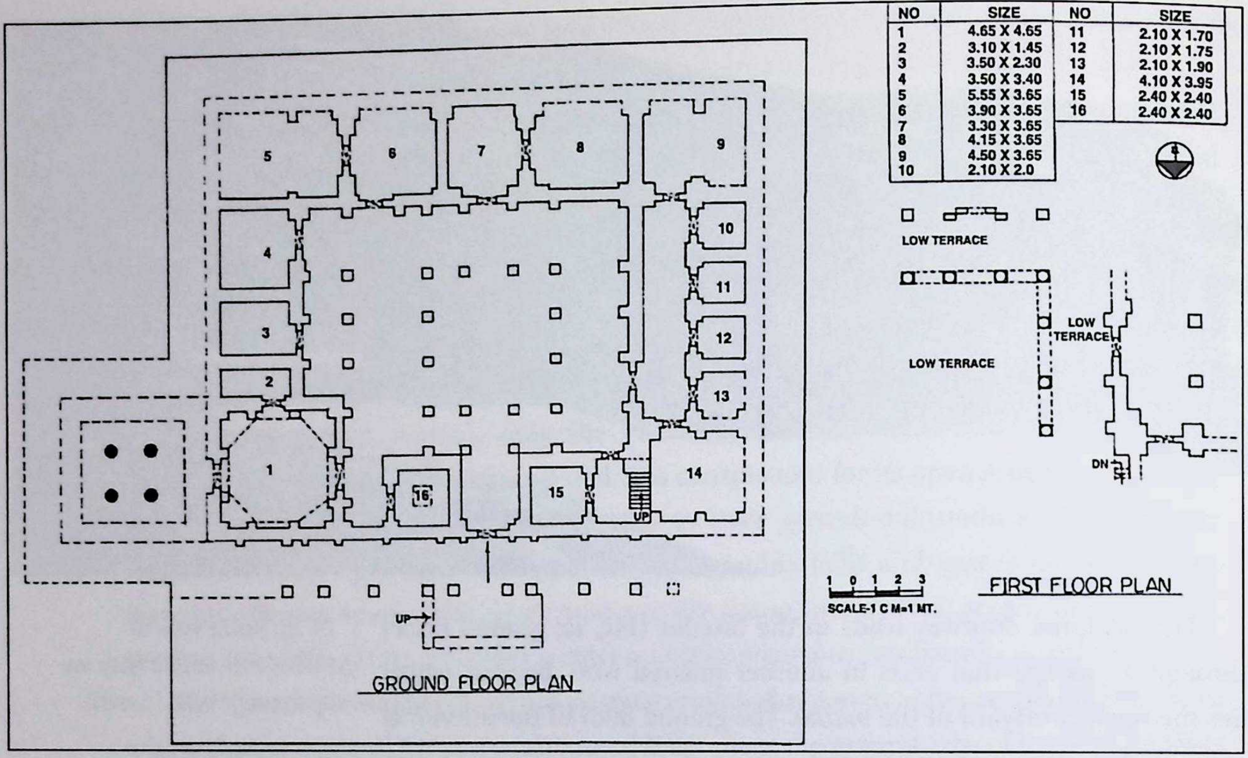
Pl. 23. North view of Chandrehe *maṭha* with an open *pragrīvaka* (porch).

This sculpted doorway leads to the interior (**Fig. 12: ground floor**) through a passage that ends in another pillared *vīthī*, beyond which lies the open courtyard of the *maṭha*. The ground floor of the interior is composed of sixteen chambers and cells on all the sides in a row behind pillared *vīthī*s that are at a higher level than the paved floor of the open courtyard.

The chambers on the four corners of the *maṭha* are larger than others but size alone may not explain their use, which seems better indicated by distinctions in chamber-doorways in different cases. Thus, some doorways have figural representation of divinities on the *uttaraṅga* and river goddesses on the *peḍya* (chambers 1, 4, 7); others—less distinguished—have those spaces rudimentarily carved but un-sculpted (chambers 3, 8, 16). These distinctions seem to be deliberate and in their differences they seem to indicate spatial hierarchy, the levels of distinction between their occupants and also the functions and utilities of the chambers which carry them. It may be suggested, accordingly, that four cells (10-13) on the west wing could have served as dormitories for disciples in residence. Entry to these cells is through a *vīthī* with a plain door. The door is near the north-western corner of the courtyard. The chamber (9) on the south-western corner could also be a *śayana-* or *vāsa-gṛha* (dormitory)



Pl. 24. Main doorway with sculpted figures on *peḍya* and *uttaraṅga* in the *maṭha* at Chandrehe.



NO	SIZE	NO	SIZE
1	4.65 X 4.65	11	2.10 X 1.70
2	3.10 X 1.45	12	2.10 X 1.75
3	3.50 X 2.30	13	2.10 X 1.90
4	3.50 X 3.40	14	4.10 X 3.95
5	5.55 X 3.65	15	2.40 X 2.40
6	3.90 X 3.65	16	2.40 X 2.40
7	3.30 X 3.65		
8	4.15 X 3.65		
9	4.50 X 3.65		
10	2.10 X 2.0		

Fig. 12. ground and first floor plan of Chandrehe *maṭha*.

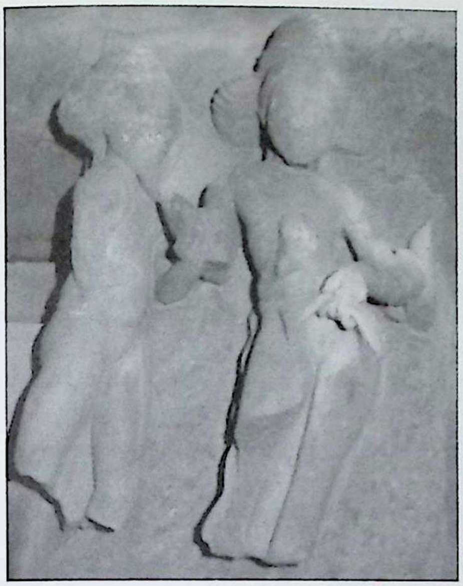
for visiting ascetics or could be a store or *granthāgāra* while another (5) in the south-east corner perhaps served as an *agraśālā* (assembly hall) to facilitate occasional gatherings. Praśāntaśiva is specifically mentioned as confabulating with fellow ascetics and also meritorious persons well-versed in *pañcārthika* philosophy who were capable of 'examining other systems'.[37] The chamber (4) in the east wing with a carved door depicting a *guru* with a manuscript and a disciple by his side (**Pl. 25**) might have served this purpose. The need for such a space must have been anticipated before construction of the *maṭha*.

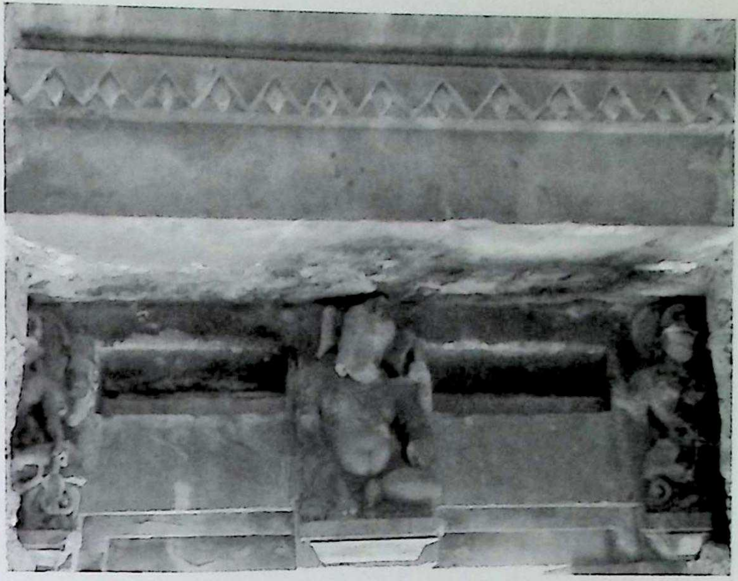
Of the large rooms on the four corners of the *maṭha*, apart from the two (5 and 9) mentioned above, the one (14) in the north-western corner also has (broken) slabs abutted to and projecting from the walls. Such slabs occur at Kadwaha and Surwaya too and they probably are the surviving covers of a granary (or chest) that were probably covered in front with slabs to secure their content. These shelves have survived in their original form in the *maṭha* of Kodal.[38] At Chandrehe such broken slabs are found in different chambers. A granary and stores were essential elements in the Siddhānta *maṭhas*; they perhaps served the

---

[37] The Gurgi inscription (Mirashi 1955: 232, vv. 15-16) refers to Praśāntaśiva meditating in 'solitary place' and to his disciples who, 'resplendent...like the multitudes of the rays of the sun...confer on the people the gift of their knowledge' and 'move about ...honoured by the best of sages.' In dealing with arrangement of spaces in the *maṭha*, we may have to accommodate such activities of Praśāntaśiva and his disciples within the spaces of the retreat at Chandrehe.

[38] *Infra*, pp. 144-145.





Left:
Pl. 25. *Guru* and disciple.

Right:
Pl. 26. Durgā, Gaṇeśa and Sarasvatī on lintel.

requirements both of rituals and maintenance, including feeding of the residents and others.[39]

The southern wing of the *maṭha* seems to represent the *ācāryas*' sacred space for meditation and also for his conference with disciples, visiting ascetics and others who sought his audience. This wing is composed of five chambers (5-9); two (5-6 and 7-8) of them respectively are inter-connected and have entry through doorways in the pillared *vīthī* in the north. Only one chamber (9) among these can be entered from the *vīthī* of the west wing. Chamber 7 faces the main doorway of the *maṭha*. Its significance is obvious from its sculpted doorway which depicts Gaṇeśa in the centre, Durgā and Sarasvatī on the terminals and Ganga-Yamuna on the *peḍyas* (**Pl. 26**). Its ante-room (cell 8) is entered through another carved but un-sculpted door. This ante-room also has shelves on its walls. This set of two chambers probably represents the dwelling place of the presiding *ācārya* as it occupies the centre, faces the main entrance, offers a *darśana* of the temple that stood outside (**Pl. 27**), is a two-chamber set and has both sculpted and carved doorways for entry, which graduated a visitor's approach to the *ācārya*'s corner in the sacredness of the inner cell.

The east wing of the *maṭha* contains two chambers (3, 4) apart from the set in its north-eastern corner. One (4) of these chambers is significant in representing perhaps the deified

---

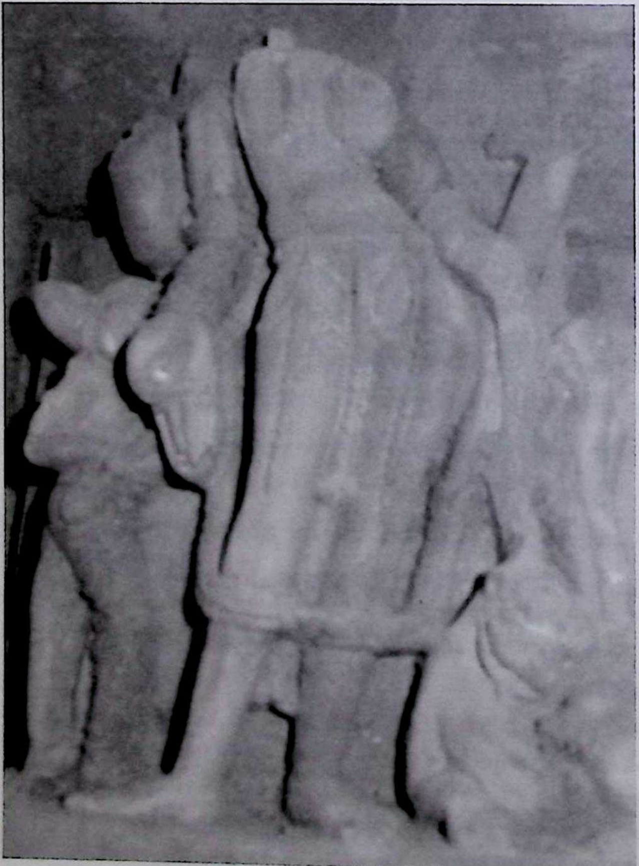
[39] Sirpur copper plate inscriptions refer to grants made for Siddhānta *ācāryas* and disciples for performing *yajña, dīkṣā, vyākhyāna* and *sattra. Sattras* took care of dwelling and feeding of the residents or visitors in the monastery. Cf. Jain (2005): 197: *yāga dīkṣā vyākhyānattra satra pravartanāya*; 202: *...caru sangītaka dhūpa pūjā...*; 207: *śiṣya praśiṣyādi santānasya satat yāgādi dīkṣā vyākhyā...satra pravartanārthaṃ*...The *Aparajitapṛicchā* also requires a *maṭha* to contain halls, especially a *sattra maṇḍapa* and a *vidyāvyākhyāna maṇḍapa* besides an *agraśālā* and even a *prākāra* (rampart) with a *pratolī* (gateway). Cf. Dubey, Lal Mani (1987): 188.

Pl. 27. View of temple from the interior of Chandrehe *maṭha*.

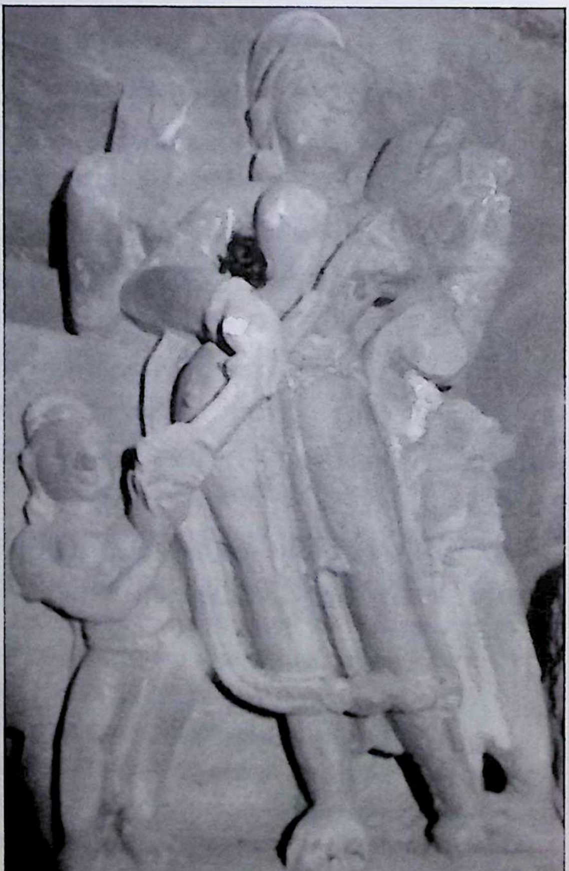
ācārya of the *maṭha* on its doorway. The deification is obvious as the figure of *ācārya* (**Pl. 25**) occupies the centre (*dvāra lalāṭa*) of the *uttaraṅga*, the spot reserved for deities. He has matted locks covering his head, wears a *kaupīna*, holds a manuscript and stands with a disciple in attendance. Significantly, his figure in centre of the lintel is flanked by Durgā (**Pl. 28**) and Sarasvatī on its terminals (**Pl. 29**). The *peḍyas* of the doorway are carved with figures of Ganga-Yamuna and their *pratiharīs*. As we said above, this chamber was apparently the place of regular communion between the resident disciples and the presiding *ācārya*. It also has broken shelves on three of its walls. The other cell (3) by its side perhaps served as an adjunct to Chamber 4.

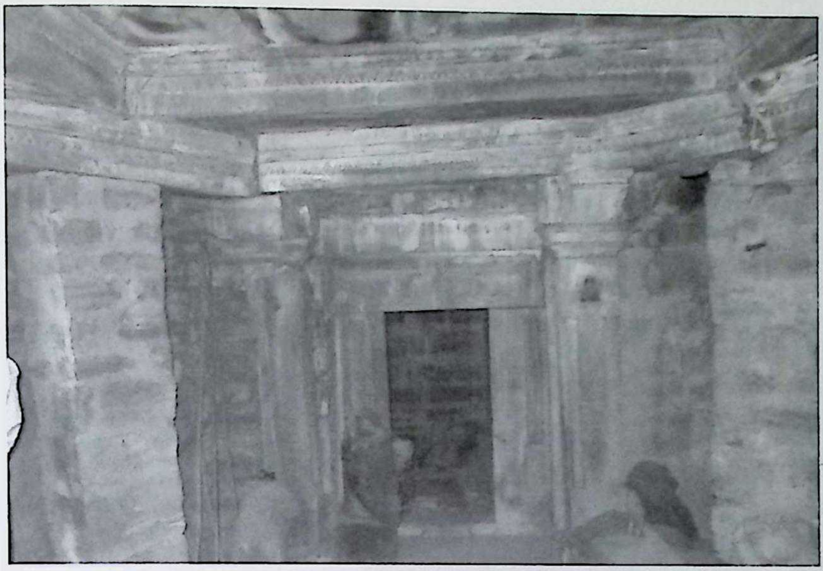
The southern and eastern wings of the *maṭha* seem to have been the most active area of operations within the *maṭha*. The place for commoners

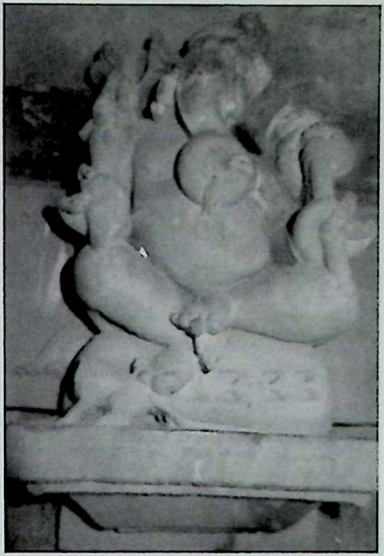
Left:
Pl. 28. Durgā on lintel Chandrehe.



Right:
Pl. 29. Lintel figure of Sarasvatī.







Left:
Pl. 30. Partial view of octagonal chamber, Chandrehe.

Right:
Pl. 31. Gaṇeśa on doorway.

may have been limited to the cell (3) and to the courtyard (*sanjavana*) which could serve as *bāhyasthāna maṇḍapa* with *ajira*.[40] From *sanjavana* to the chamber (3) entry could have been easy, but that would exclude visitors from the north-eastern corner of the *maṭha*, which had its special roles.

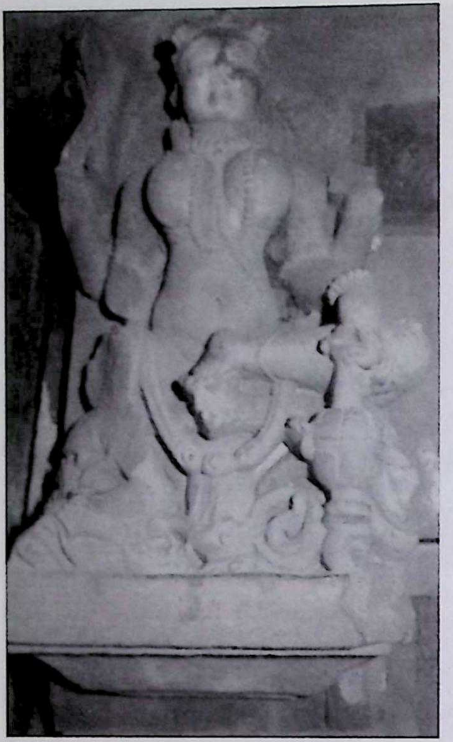
The north-eastern corner of the *maṭha* seems to have a centrality both temporally and spatially. One may hazard a guess that the north-eastern corner of ground floors in the Kadwaha, and Terahi might have been functionally similar. At Chandrehe this section is composed of an exclusive gallery leading to an octagonal chamber (1) (**Pl. 30**). There is one more chamber (16) across the gallery on the other side to the west with an underground vault. The gallery also has on its wall a (now) empty niche with a *candraśilā* on its crest and balusters on sides. The main chamber (1) of the gallery has a doorway depicting Gaṇeśa (**Pl. 31**) in the centre of the lintel, Durgā (**Pl. 32**) and Sarasvatī (**Pl. 33**) on the terminals and Ganga-Yamuna on *peḍyas* with Bhairava accompanying the river goddess. This doorway leads to that chamber built on octagonal plan. It has a square roof set on octagonally arranged architraves. The architraves are adorned with *ratnaka* friezes and are supported on pilasters. This chamber has two doors, one to the south and another to the east. The door to the east leads to a crumbled chamber containing four broken pillars on a platform in the centre (**Pl. 34**).[41]

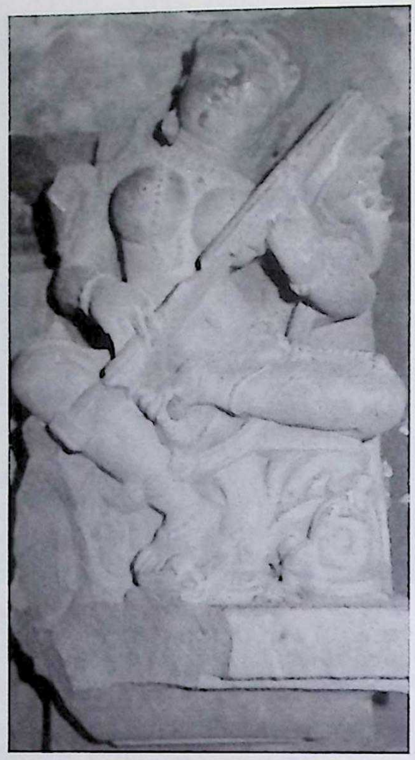
Only the bases of the pillars have survived; the walls enclosing the chamber are missing. The configuration of pillars with platform may recall the presence here of a *catuṣkī* (a

---

[40] The terms implying 'commoners' hall' (*bāhyasthāna maṇḍapa*) and 'open courtyard' (*ajira/sanjavana*) are found in the *Harṣacarita*, Cf., Agrawala (1964): 217-19.

[41] The four pillars, of which only the bases remain in open now, were enclosed by walls on three sides and the entrance to this pillared chamber was on the fourth side, i.e. on the west. This entrance still exists. The Chandrehe temple stood to its north, as seen in the illustration.





Left:
Pl. 32. Durgā.

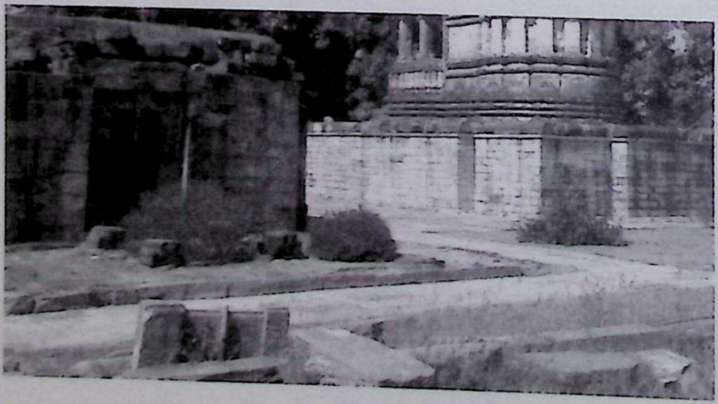
Right:
Pl. 33. Sarasvatī.

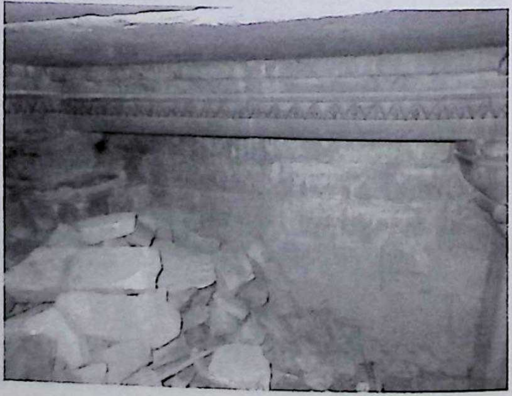
maṇḍapa on four pillars) for performance of formal rituals and religious sacraments. The other cell (2) to the south, with a plain doorway, was probably meant to hold equipment and material for rituals and could also be a store for gifts before the precious ones were transferred to the vault. This entire complement of the *maṭha*, including the gallery, chambers, cell and *catuṣkī*, forms an exclusive unit in the north-east section of the *maṭha*. Chamber 16 is entered through a carved but plain doorway devoid of sculptures and has a covered cavity on the floor inside, in a corner that leads to the underground vault. There is no stairway downwards and scaffolding would have facilitated descent into it. This vault (Pl. 35), almost square in shape, is built like a spacious and impressive underground chamber having four corner pilasters with brackets above that support the architraves carved with *ratnaka* frieze. The vault is sealed by the floor of the room above it.

This entire north-eastern set of gallery, chambers, cell and vault seem to have constituted the epicentre of the *maṭha* serving as the formal hub for its privileged functions, which, it is likely, related to consecration

Left:
Pl. 34. Chandrehe *maṭha*: NE corner, broken pillars of the crumbled chamber.

Right:
Pl. 35. Chandrehe *maṭha*: underground vault in Chamber 16 (see Fig. 12 for numbering).





rituals for *ācārya*'s investiture in the *maṭha*[42], and *dīkṣā*[43] rituals for aspiring potentates or devotees. It could thus be considered as a *dīkṣā*-cum-*abhiṣeka maṇḍapa*. Its wings would have been utilised for ceremonies, stores for ritual paraphernalia, privileged spaces (like a platform under a *castuṣkī*) for *dīkṣā* and *abhiṣeka*, spaces for officiating priests, their assistants and possibly witnesses, wherever required, vaults for treasures and gifts received by *ācārya* in terms of gold or money that poured into the *maṭha* from time to time.[44]

Imparting *dīkṣā* to devotees and consecration of *ācāryas* were among the most crucial functions of the Siddhānta monasteries. *Dīkṣā* explicitly figures in the Ranod and Kadwaha inscriptions in the cases of potentates like Avantivarman and Harirāja, mentioned earlier. The *Varuṇa paddhati* (vv.14-20) describes different kinds of initiation, e.g., *cākṣusī*, *sparśa*, *vācikī*, *mānasī*, *śāstrī*, *yoga*, *hautrī* etc., (*ityādi*), in which some required rituals by fire (*agni saṃskāra*), *maṇḍalārcana* (worship of a ritual circle) and *dravyatyāga* (renunciation). Initiation into Siddhanta Śaivism was open to all: kings, commoners, maidens, women, old and infirm. It constituted an essential element in the *kriyāpāda* of the Siddhānta. The presiding *ācārya* of the *maṭha* performed initiation rituals according to the capacity of recipient.[45] The Siddhānta doctrines aver that Śiva executed *dīkṣā* directly through an *ācārya* who, in physically performing *dīkṣā* ritual was supposed to be instrumental as a medium.[46] Initiation, when complete, emancipated the initiated ones from bondage.[47] The act of the *ācārya* thus was the act of Śiva and it edified the former to the level of Śiva, the Supreme Deity, which might explain the deification of *ācāryas* in the *maṭha*'s iconography.

Like *dīkṣā*, installation of an *ācārya* was also a major event in the *maṭhas*. The Malkapuram record notes that consecration (*pratiṣṭhā*) was a hugely attended event. The

---

[42] The Malkapuram inscription (Sircar 1983: 586-7, vv. 70-72) refers to investiture of the qualified *ācārya* that was a well attended ceremony as follows: *yo golakīvaṃśya kṛtābhiṣekaḥ śāntaḥ-śuciḥ-sarvarahasyavedī/śaivāgamānām-apipāragāmī-saṃtānapālaḥ-samaloṣṭahemā// sarvānibhutāny-anukampamānaḥ-samastavidyāsukṛtāvagāhaḥ/mahīsuraḥ-śīlavatāmpurogo-bhavettarāṃ-naiṣṭhikadeśikendraḥ//viśveśvaraśivācaryodhimānrājaguru svayamevamajñāpayaddhīraśaivācāryaśatairvṛtaḥ.*

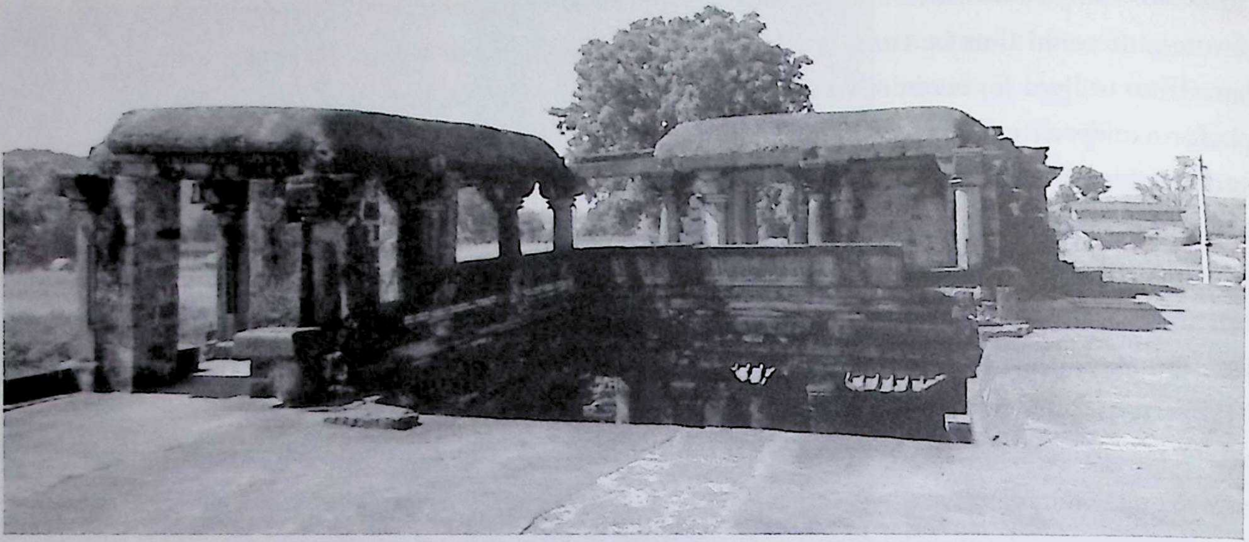
[43] Cf. Dīkṣāprakaraṇam in the *Varuṇa Paddhati* (vv. 1-99).

[44] *Supra*, pp. 63 ff.

[45] In essence, *dīkṣā* amounted to removal of impurities (*mala*) from the 'being' (*paśu*) by *Pati* (Śiva). This act was supposed to restore to the initiated his innate powers of Self, allow him his higher perceptions of being 'like' Śiva and dispel his psycho-physical body experience of pain and suffering imposed by Māyā as a result of imposition of *malas* 'impurities'. Cf. *Varuṇapaddhati*, pp. 33-34; p. 33 fn.11: *dīkṣaiva mocayatyūrdhvaṃśaivaṃ dhāma nayatyapi*. Also, Bilhari record, vv. 72-76, which likens the grace of Śiva with the 'shower of nectar'. Mirashi (1955): 214-15, 222-223.

[46] *Varuṇapaddhati*, p. 34.

[47] *Sapāśatrayaviśleṣaṃ śivatvaṃ vyajyate yayā/kriyā sā kathyate dīkṣā bhakti-vairāgya-lakṣaṇā, Varuṇa Paddhati*, 2, p. 45. Also, *ibid.*, p. 47: *dīyate jñānasadbhāvaḥ kṣīyate pāśasañcayaḥ/dīyate kṣīyate yogāt dīkṣāśabda ihochyate*. The three *pāśas* are *mala*, *māyā* and *karma*.



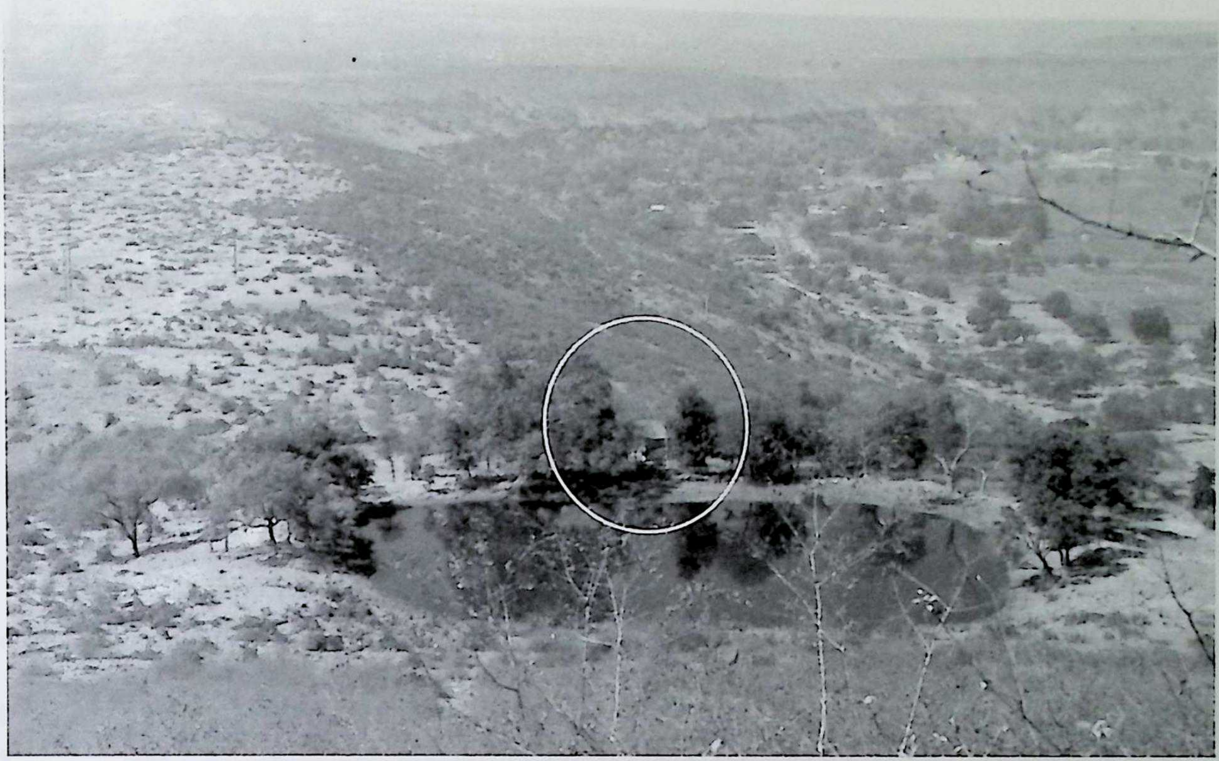
Pl. 36. Chandrehe *maṭha*: remnants of structures, first floor.

record describes that 'hundreds of Śaivācaryas' (*śaivācāryaśataih*, v. 72) were witness when a distinguished ascetic of *golakī vaṃśa* consecrated the incumbent in the Viśveśvara *golakī* of Andhra to preside over it (*yo golakīvaṃśya kṛtābhiṣekaḥ*, v. 70).[48] The Gurgi inscription (vv. 17, 20) tells us of the two ascetics Īśānaśambhu and Prabodhaśiva, indicating that the former took over Chandrehe *maṭha* after Praśāntaśiva and, later on, passed over his office to his *anuja* Prabodhaśiva (*śrīmat Prabodhaivanāmanijanujasya sthānam samarpya...*). Thus, the privileged north-eastern section of the Chandrehe *maṭha*, the *dīkṣā-abhiṣeka maṇḍapa* in other words, could have witnessed the consecration rituals twice, in quick succession, first when Īśānaśambhu succeeded his *guru* Praśāntaśiva and then again when Prabodhaśiva took over the bestowed *sthāna*, (seat) as the presiding *ācārya* of the *maṭha* from Īṣānaśambhu.

A flight of steps on north, near chamber (14), leads to the first floor of the *maṭha* (**Fig. 12 plan, first floor**). This upper storey is badly damaged except for the remnants of structures (**Pl. 36**) on its western and northern sides and open *maṇḍapas* having pillars and *kakṣāsana*. The *kakṣāsana* have their back overlooking the courtyard below on the ground floor and were apparently built as barricades to save the residents from falling down in the courtyard below. They rest on several courses of mouldings which had ribbed course of *chādyas* projecting all around the courtyard below. The drains expelled rain water down through the mouth of corpulent *gaṇas*. The roof of the *maṭha* offers a pleasing panoramic view of the (Bhramara) hills and the fields around. It is built of slabs sloping at the ends and the interlocking stone slabs of the roof noticed at Surwaya, Terahi, Kadwaha and Ranod are missing here. There is still a dilapidated, dried up well to the south-east of the *maṭha*. The Chandrehe inscription mentions it as a *kūpa* with 'copious water'.

---

[48] See also *devasya sattrasya maṭhasya tasya grāmasya sarvasya ca so'dhikarī*, Malkapuram inscription, Sircar (1983): 586, v.69.



Pl. 37. Chunari *maṭha* with panoramic view of surroundings.

CHUNARI

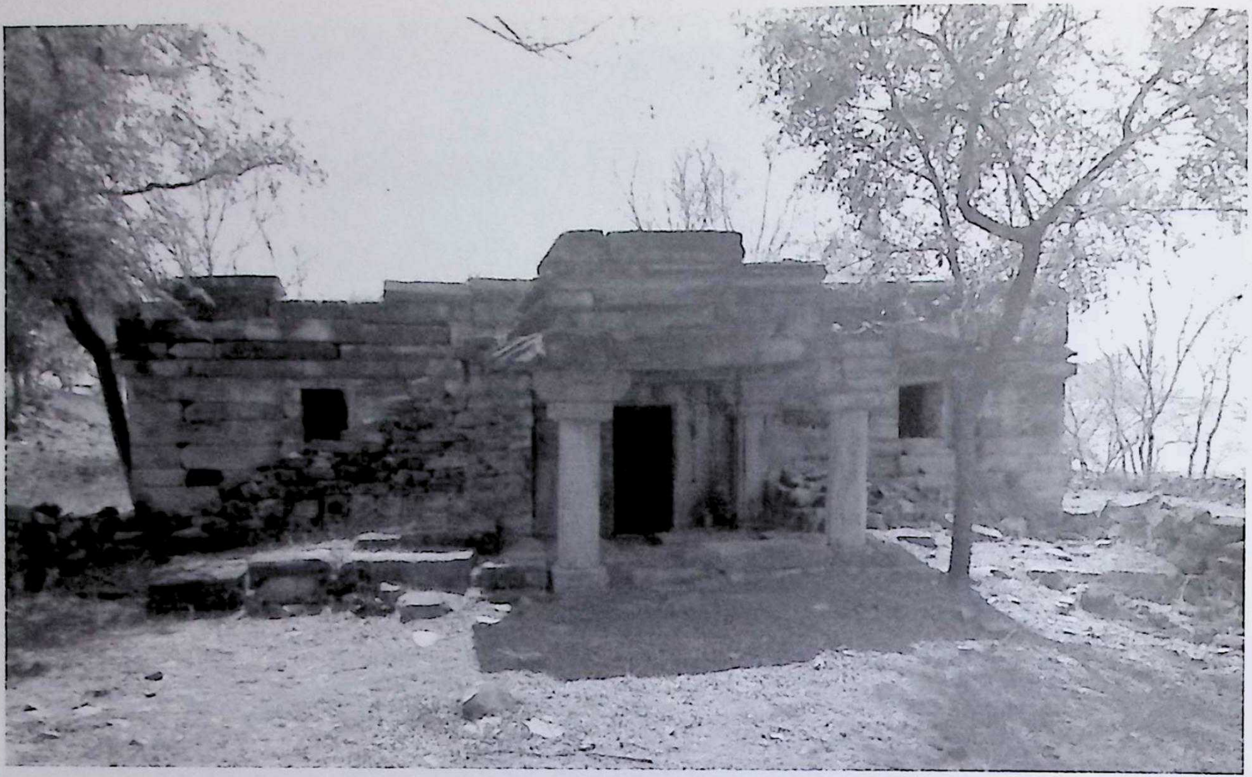
Chunari near Rewa and Kodal (variant: Koral in **Map 3**) near Damoh also contains a *maṭha* and temple together in the woodlands of Ḍāhala. The temple that once stood north of it has disappeared and a modern shrine has been awkwardly assembled out of its rubble.[49] The *maṭha*, locally known as Madfa is situated in the wilderness of the Suhagi hills of Kaimur Ranges (**Pl. 37**). It is in a state of utter neglect now. Chunari is among the few Śaivite monastic sites that have Buddhist monuments nearby, at Deor Kothar, in this instance.[50] Another such site is Sirpur in Chhattisgarh, where Bāleśvara *maṭhikā* for a Siddhānta *muni* was built during the reign of Pāṇḍuvaṃśī Śivagupta.[51]

---

[49] Cf., Singh, A.K. (2001): 47-52. The monastic complex is situated on a hillock near Chunari.

[50] *Ibid.*, p. 47. In Gopācala region, a stone-built *stupa* exists at Rajapura. Cf., Willis (1997): 39. There is little evidence to firmly establish connection between Buddhist monasticism and Śaivite monasteries. At Ṣirpur they existed close to each other chronologically and topographically. The Buddhist works of Deor Kothar and Itahva, though found close to Chunari, have little to connect one with the other. Looking for Buddhist implants on Śaivite monasticism in this region, considering their chronological proximities and/or succession, still remains a desideratum. Kalacuri inscriptions and monuments of tenth to twelfth centuries have been reported from this region at Alhaghat (Ambika temple) and Baghedi (Śiva temple). For these and the finds of megalithic burials, menhirs, cairn and cist burials, cf, Singh (2001): 48-49. Also, Singh, A.K. "Buddhist Stupa Complex at Deour Kothara and Dundi Garhi", *Puratattva* 38, pp.202-204.

[51] *Supra*, p. 46.

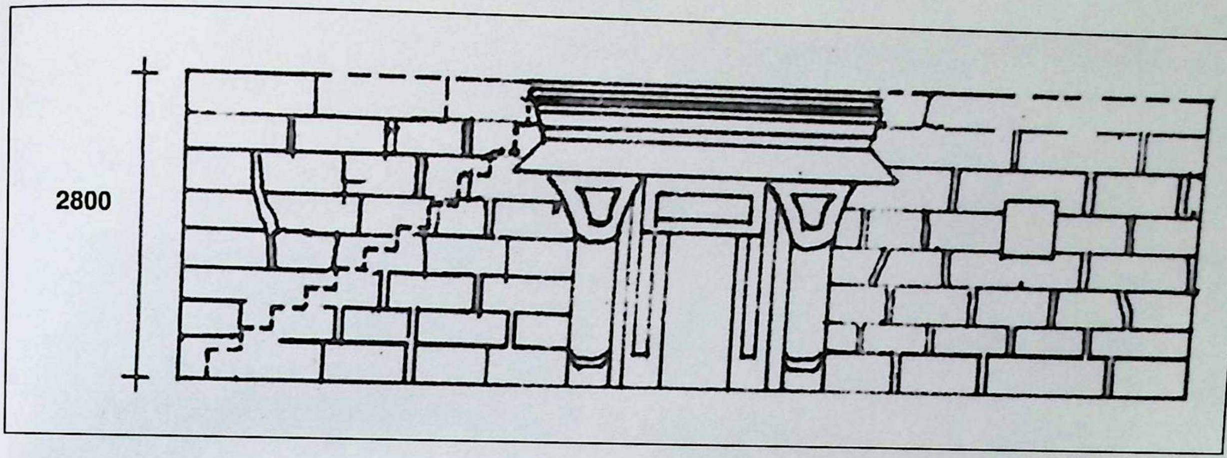


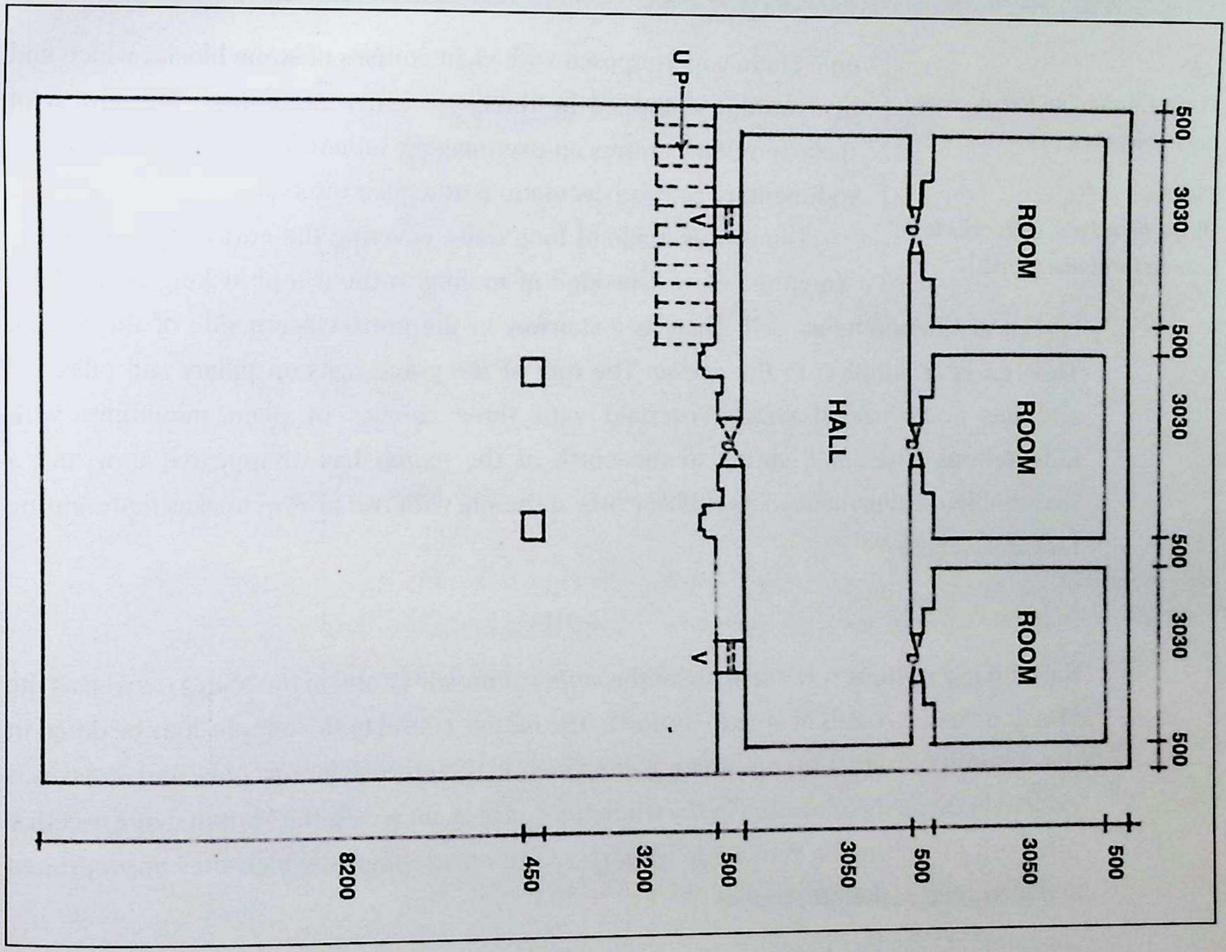
Pl. 38. Chunari *maṭha*: View from north.

There is no record or reference left of the Chunari *maṭha* in either texts or inscriptions. However, considering similarity of pillars on its porch with some of those on the porch of Chandrehe *maṭha* and also the fact that Siddhānta *munis* landed in Ḍāhala not before the first Yuvarājadeva (915-945 CE), it may be dated in the early or middle of tenth century. It perhaps served as *vasati* or *siddhasthāna*, like the one at Thubon or like the 'abodes' set up by Praśāntaśiva on the Son River (near Chandrehe) and on Ganga in Varanasi. It could also have served as a halting station for ascetics or their protégés, traders' caravans included, moving from *Vindhyāṭavī* to Varanasi or *vice versa*. Such ascetic movement is affirmed in the instance of Golagnika (Gurgi)-Chandrehe *ācārya* Praśāntaśiva's act of establishing an 'abode' at Varanasi.

The Chunari *maṭha* (**Pl. 38**) standing by side of a pond is of modest dimensions and is built on a plan combining a pillared *pragrīvaka* (porch) and a *maṇḍapa* with three cells in a row at the back (**Fig. 13 A, B**). Its porch (3.10 × 3.00 × 2.19 m) is raised on two pillars in front and their corresponding pilasters on the back wall. A carved but un-sculpted doorway (**Pl. 39**) set within the pilasters leads to a closed, rectangular *maṇḍapa* (10.05 × 3.06 m) (**Pl. 40**). At the back of the *maṇḍapa* are three cells (3.30 × 3.02 m), independent of each other. Each of these cells has a carved doorway *sans* sculpture.

These cells would have accommodated the *munis* and their disciples and also served for rituals, meditation and afforded audience with devotees. The cells flanking the central cell could also have served partly as store while the *maṇḍapa* might have offered shelter



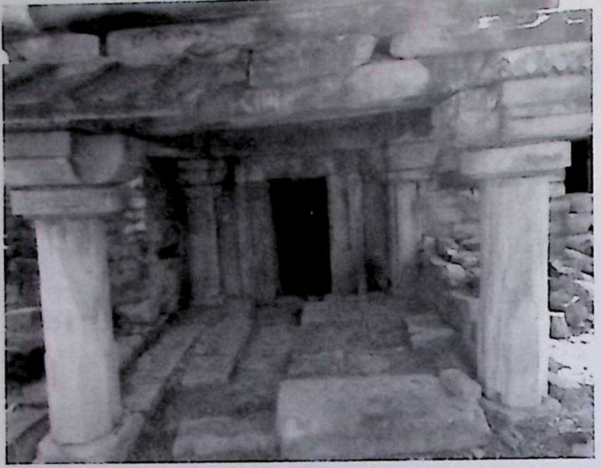

UP
V
V
HALL
ROOM
ROOM
ROOM
500
3030
500
3030
500
3030
500
8200
450
3200
500
3050
500
3050
500

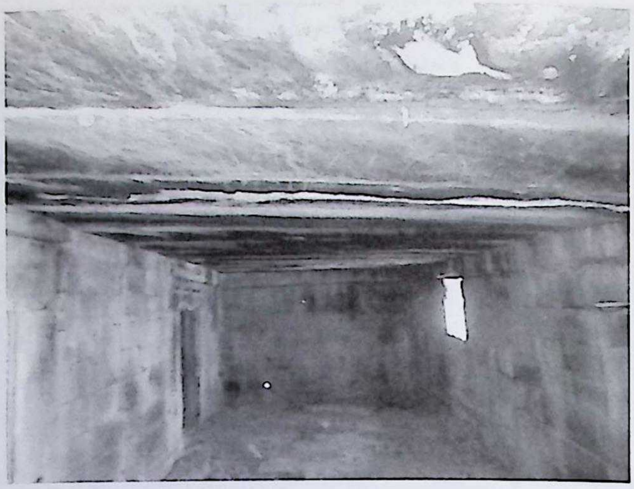
Above:
Fig. 13A. Chunari *Maṭha*, Front Elevation.

Below:
Fig. 13B. Chunari *Maṭha*, Plan.

to the itinerant ascetics. The *maṇḍapa* has two stone-grilled *vātāyana* (windows) too, facing north, like the ones observed at Ranod, Kadwaha and Surwaya.

Externally, the *maṭha* is a rectangular structure measuring 7.60 × 11.01 m excluding the porch. It rises up to a height of 2.08 m and is built





Left:
Pl. 39. Chunari *maṭha*: doorway to *maṇḍapa*.

Right:
Pl. 40. *Maṇḍapa*, with cells to rear and window (north).

on a *bhitta* superimposed with eight courses of stone blocks, which end in a *varaṇḍikā* topped by three successive mouldings. The lowest of these mouldings forms an overhanging *kapota* (eave). This eave carries rudimentary *gavākṣa* decorations at regular intervals.

The roof is made of long slabs, covering the entire expanse of the structure below. This kind of roofing, without interlocking stone slabs, is seen at Chandrehe as well. There is a stairway in the north-eastern side of the *maṭha*. This is a later addition to the *maṭha*. The roof of the porch rests on pillars and pilasters, and has a corrugated *chādya* overlaid with three courses of plain mouldings with indentations. The small shrine to the north of the *maṭha* has disappeared now and a reassembled shrine made of its rubble exists at the site with two broken images representing Śiva and Gaṇeśa.[52]

KODAL

Kalacuri inscriptions[53] are silent about the *maṭha* at Kodal[54] (Koral in the **Map 3**) as well as the Śiva temple that stands near it, to its north. The *maṭha*, coeval to the temple, may be dated in the eleventh century. The combination of *muni*s and their retreat amidst *aṭavī* and *āṭavika*s is evident in them; their location in the wilderness once again recalls the Mattamayūra ascetics' penchant for setting up retreats in solitary, sylvan environments, which they appropriated and identified as their *tapovanas*.

---

[52] Singh, A.K. (2011): Figures 4, 5.

[53] Certain recently reported inscriptions refer to Ḍāhala and to some late Kalacuri princes but there is little in them about Siddhānta *munis* or *maṭha* s. Cf., Sharma, R.K. and M.M. Upadhyaya (2009) "Some Newly Discovered Sati Inscriptions from Gurji: Fresh Light on History of Kalacuris of Tripuri", in P. Chenna Reddy (ed.) *Saundaryashri*, Delhi: Sharda Publishing House, pp. 1050-55.

[54] Kodal is about 88 km. away from Jabalpur and is reached through a bumpy road via Patan, Tendukheda and Darauli. From Darauli it is located about two km. away across Kenkara *nullah*.

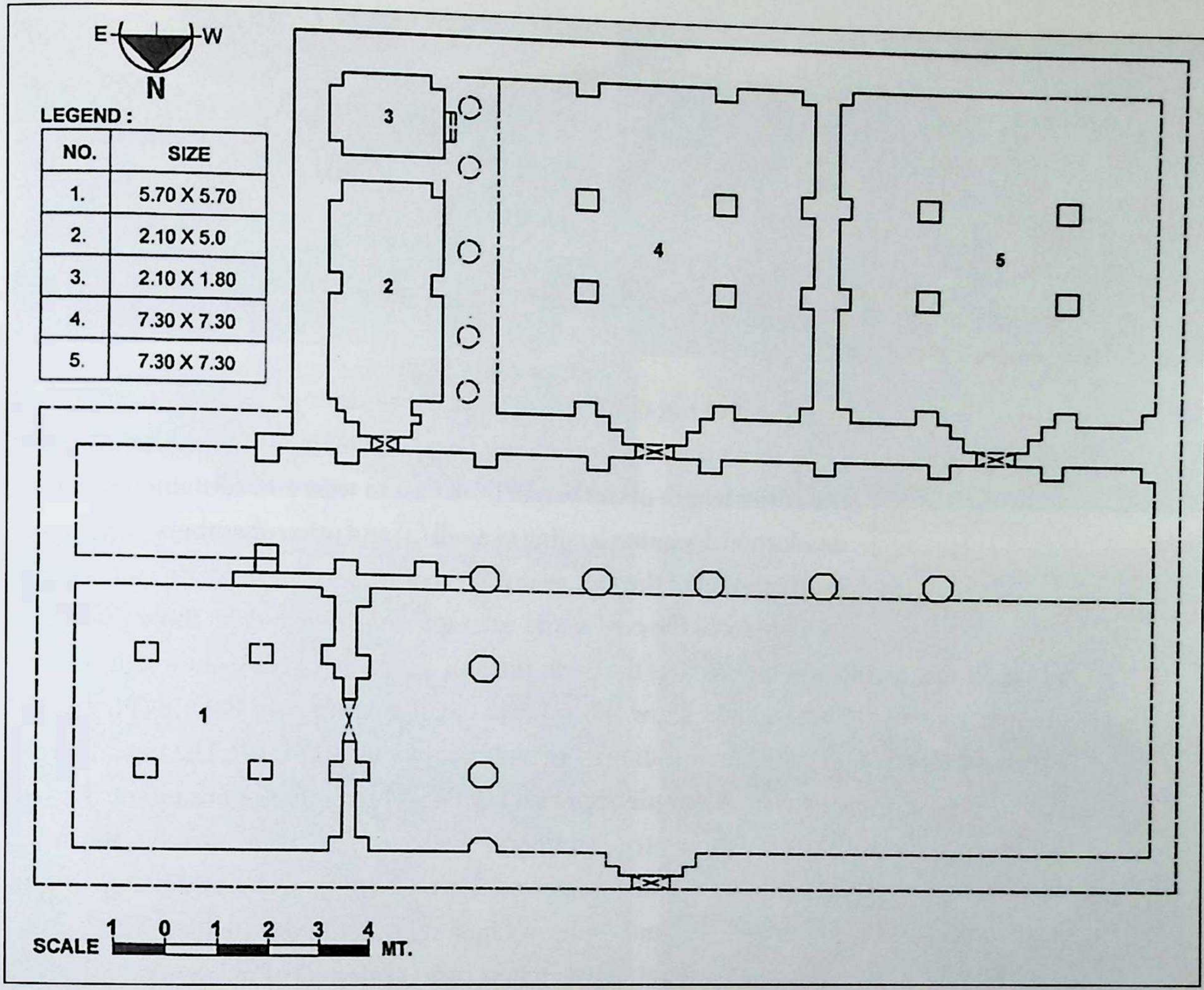


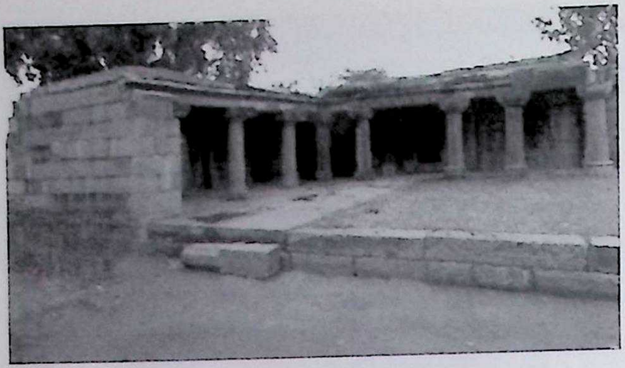
Fig. 14. Kodal *Maṭha*, Plan: Conjectural restoration.

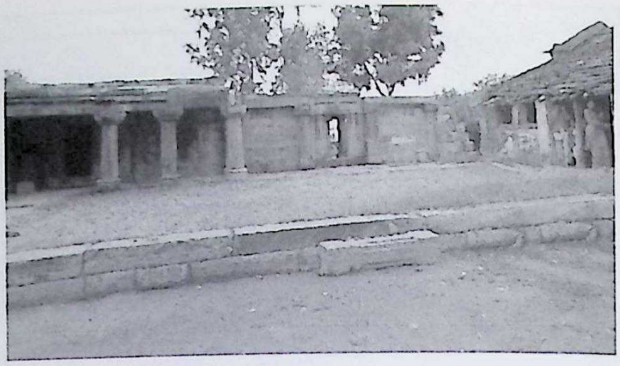
The monastery at Kodal (Pls. 41-42) is no longer in its original form as its cells in the north-east and south-west, as also its wall in the west and pillared *vīthī* in front have disappeared. As it stands today, it has an open courtyard, *sans* the entrance doorway, the enclosing walls in the north and west and cells that probably occupied the north-western corner.[55] A paved passage, which is an extension of the paved pillared gallery, leads to the sections of the *maṭha* in the east and south where cells are situated behind pillared *vīthīs*. A conjectural plan with all these missing elements (except possibly a chamber or cells that could have been on north-western section) is reproduced here (Fig. 14).

There seems to have been a chamber (1) with an un-adorned doorway behind a smaller pillared *vīthī* on northeastern corner. It now stands in a crumbled state. Two chambers (4, 5) and two cells (2, 3) are built towards the south, behind a longitudinal, east to west, pillared corridor (*vīthī*).

---

[55] This courtyard should have been at a level lower than that of the pillared *vīthī* of the *maṭha*, like it is in the monasteries at Kadwaha, Surwaya and Chandrehe, but it seems to have been filled up after the walls collapsed.





Left:
Pl. 41. Kodal *maṭha*: view from northeast.

Right:
Pl. 42. Northeast view extended.

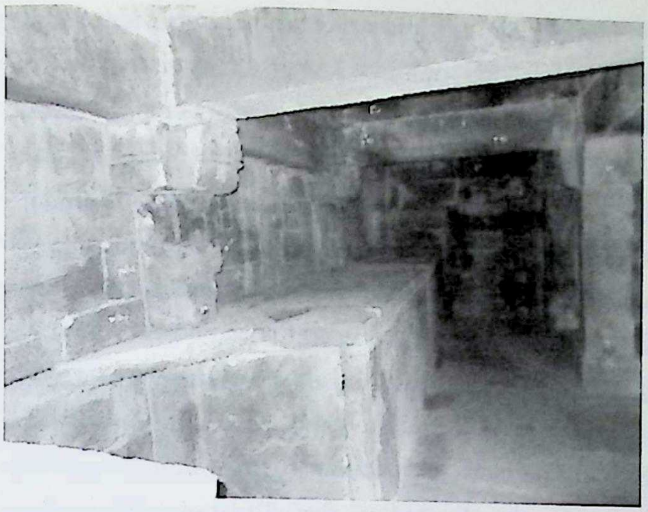
Only five out of nine such pillars are extant now. The corresponding pilasters on the wall, nine in number, indicate that this corridor occupied the entire length of the *maṭha* from east to west and contained separate, unadorned doorways leading to a cell (2) and other chambers (4, 5) on the southern end of the monastery. The main chamber (4) of this section has four pillars in the centre and corresponding pilasters on three side walls, all supporting architraves on brackets that held the roof above. It also has, abutted to its wall on east, five grain-storing silos in a row (**Pl. 43**) with circular cuttings on the top (**Pl. 44**) and a plain window (**Pl. 45**), the latter leading to an underground vault (**Pl. 46**). The top and front slabs of one of these silos have now disappeared but the other four silos are intact. Similar, but broken, silos with covers fragmented and fronts missing are noticed at Surwaya, Kadwaha and Chandrehe; however, their intended shape and form as also their standard height is seen intact only at Kodal.[56] The underground vaults of Chandrehe and Kodal are identical.

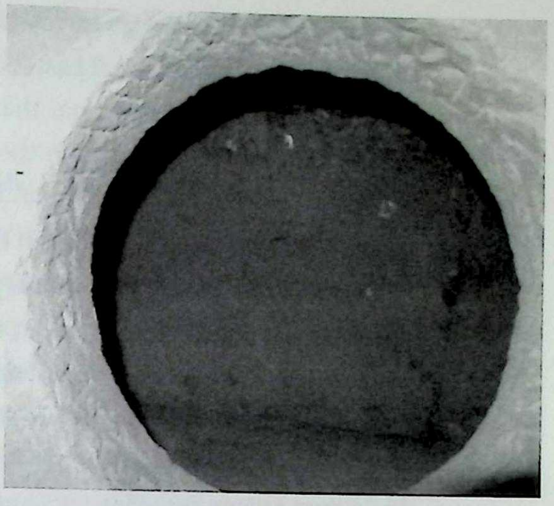
The vault at Kodal has its walls set between four corner pilasters of massive proportions. The brackets of pilasters support its roof above. The vault opens on the eastern wall of the chamber (4) but descent to it would have been possible only through scaffolding. The vault and silos indicate the prosperity of the *maṭha* during its heyday in terms of its wealth and possessions including *dhānya*, *hiraṇya* and *ratna*, as are mentioned in the case of the monastery at Ranod. These also confirm the well-being of its *muni*s as landed magnates and signify the monastery as their stronghold, controlling storage and distribution of resources at their will.

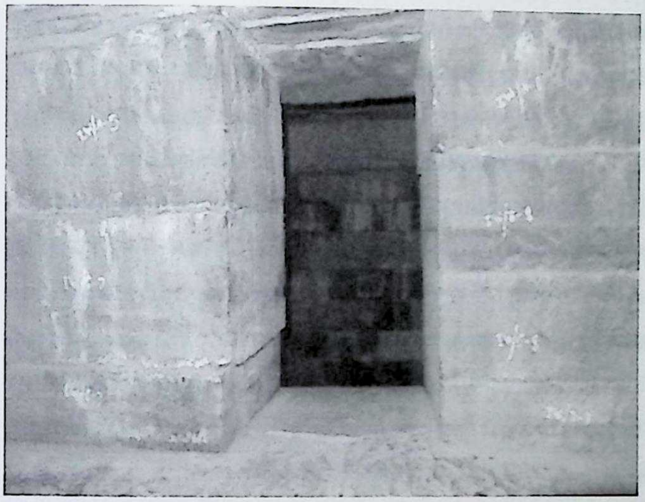
The chamber 5 may be considered as an exclusive space with a set of cells (now extinct) at the back of pillared *vīthī*s (corridors). It may have been the presiding *muni*'s corner, allowing him an exclusive and secluded space for his dwelling and meditation. This would have kept him away from the silos of food grain and its activities, including storage and perhaps distribution, which would have involved the adjacent chamber (4). Chamber 1 in the north-east seems to have been similarly built, and both replicated each other in the plan of cells and

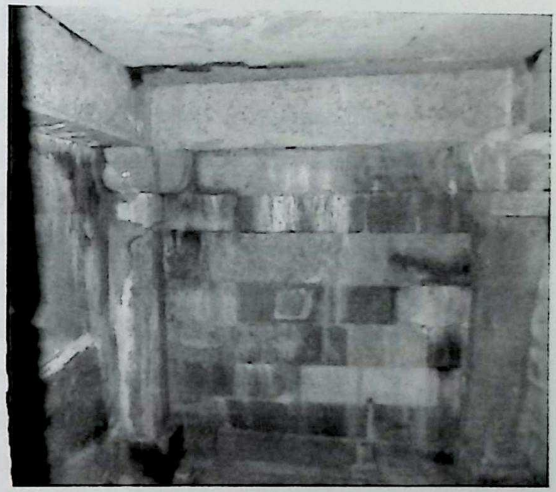
---

[56] According to the estimates by local people, each of these silos could hold at least six quintals of harvested foodgrains, about thirty quintals in all.









Above Left:
Pl. 43. Kodal *maṭha*: chamber with a row of silos.

Above Right:
Pl. 44. Circular cutting (not to scale).

Below Left:
Pl. 45. Kodal *maṭha*: entrance to the underground vault.

Below Right:
Pl. 46. Underground vault.

corridors as also their un-adorned doorways.[57] The different spaces in the monastery perhaps served as dormitory (2), store (4) *granthāgāra* (3) and *vyākhyāna maṇḍapa* (1). There could have been more dormitories in the *maṭha* than those conjectured here. The occupation pattern in this now truncated and dilapidated structure is difficult to work out. The roof of the *maṭha* is made of slabs set together through its length and breadth. The projecting corrugated *chādya*s of the roof are mostly lost.

Tripuri, near Jabalpur, witnessed construction of the last of the *maṭha*s in central India, but these were related not to the Siddhāntins but to the ascetics of the Pāśupata sect of Śaivism.[58] The early Gopācala Śaivite iconography reveals that neither the pantheon nor the doctrines of the Pāśupata Śaivas were excluded from the Śiddhānta Śaiva tradition. This is evident from numerous representations of Lakulīśa in Śiddhāntika temples at Naresar, Batesar and Gwalior (Teli ka mandir) and also from the keen interest of Praśāntaśiva in Pāśupata philosophy, which finds specific mention in the Gurgi record.[59] Reference to the sect of 'Jogī 700', to a *sādhu* in the Chandrehe memorial pillar and even to the ascetics of the Soma Siddhānta[60] sect in Sirpur inscriptions indicate that Siddhāntin monasteries and *muni*s welcomed sages of other Śaivite sects, although they contested Buddhism and Jainism.[61] Considering such Siddhāntin proclivities, it is not surprising to find the Pāśupatas entrenched at Tripuri in their well-provided monasteries between 1151 and 1155 CE. The Tewar inscription of Gayākarṇa (1151 CE) refers to Bhāvabrahma, a Pāśupata ascetic who built a *maṭha*[62] along with a temple of Śiva, the enemy of Kāma, using the wealth he had collected through charity (*bhikṣādhanena*). The Bheraghat inscription of 1155 CE similarly refers to Alhaṇadevī, the widow of Gāṅgeyadeva building a 'moon-crested' Śiva-Vaidyanātha temple, besides a 'monastery of wonderful storeys'—*akārayanmandira indumauleridammaṭhenādbhuta bhūmikena*—a lecture hall (*vyākhyāna śālā*), 'a continuous line of gardens' and 'two rows (of rooms attached) to the temple of Śambhu'.[63] Probably, these monasteries were companion to the other Siddhānta *maṭha* that had most probably come up earlier at Tripuri.[64] The Bheraghat-Tewar area has no trace of this *golakīmaṭha* now, or of the other *maṭha*s mentioned in Bheraghat and Tewar inscriptions, cited above. But the tract is not wanting in the sculptures of the tenth century and later.[65] The presence of a Siddhāntika *golakī maṭha* at Tripuri, extinct now, cannot be denied considering its lineage from first Vimalaśiva down to the second Vimalaśiva as described in the Jabalpur inscription of Jayasiṃha (1163-1188 CE) of 1174 CE and also because it refers to installation of an ascetic in the seat there,[66] which would be meaningless if there was neither a monastery nor an office for such installation. We have seen above that consecration (*abhiṣeka*) was a highly celebrated ritual in formally conferring privileges and authority upon a designated *ācārya*. It was not a private sacrament and would not be resorted to without there being a monastic office with a titled cleric to manage it while an assemblage of ascetics joined it in strength. The relevant passage in the Jabalpur record therefore is a formal statement of taking over the reins of a monastery that once existed but is extinct now.

---

[57] The plan of the Kodal monastery illustrated here is drawn according to our perception of its likely form.

[58] For details about Pāśupatas, cf, Pathak (1960):8-19.

---

[59] *Supra*, p. 62.

[60] Pathak (1960): 23-25.

[61] Ranod Inscription, *E.I.*,1, p. 358, v. 39.

[62] *cakāra prākāra devāgāra maṭhaiḥ*, Mirashi (1955): 308, v, 12; also verses 7-14.

[63] Mirashi (1955): pp. 317, 320, vv. 27-28. She also made a grant of two villages to the temple and installed Rudrarāśi, a Pāśupata Śaiva ascetic to 'manage' this complex. One village 'with all its income' and another village situated on 'the right bank of Narmada ...in the land near the foot of the hill' were granted for the maintenance of the complex.

[64] *Supra*, pp. 54-55.

[65] Professor R.K.Sharma of Jabalpur spoke to me of having noticed the ruins of a *maṭha*-like structure on the other side of the road to Chaunsatha Yogini temple. My former pupil Dr. Chaitanya Swaroop Saxena seems to agree to this suggestion.

[66] *Supra*, p.54.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The foregoing indicates that *maṭhas*, while being retreats of the ascetics, also doubled up as their strongholds and were conspicuous for their huge dimensions and stone-built structural elements that took care of its occupants' activities. They took care of the *guru*'s dwelling (*vāsagṛha*), disciples' dormitories (*śayanagṛha*), pillared galleries (*vīthī*) for feeding residents and visitors (*āhāra maṇḍapa*), silos, vaults, stores (*āgāra*), library (*granthāgāra*) assembly halls (*agraśālā/maṇḍapas*), *harmya* (upper stories) rampart (*prākāra*), fortification (*vapra*) and possibly *aśvaśālā* and *hastiśālā* nearby.[67] In having these different sections, *maṭhas* do not seem to lag behind the palaces of the rulers of the day, described in *Harṣacarita* as *dhavalagṛha*.[68] The *Pṛthvīcandra Carita* (composed in 1421 CE),[69] mentions *maṭha* and palace (*dhavalagṛha*) parenthetically. In their components *maṭhas* possibly emulated royal palaces, provided with stable for horses (*asvaśālā/mandurā*),[70] enclosure for elephants (*gajaśālā*) and even arsenal (*āyudhaśālā*).[71] As potentates (from early ninth century onwards) energetically sought the ascetics' support, receiving *dīkṣā*, proffering village grants, wealth, elephants, horses or having those *ācāryas* as *rājagurus* (as did the Kalacuris), the ascetics were progressively involved in militarily supporting their royal protégés. This also precipitated transition of sacred spaces in *maṭhas* into arsenals, stocked with supplies of bows and arrows and other weapons. As the ascetics claimed to be experts in *śastra*, 'weapons' (and in *śāstra* too)[72] the weapons did not remain merely consigned to the arsenals; they were used in action on occasions, as happened in the encounter of Dharmaśiva with *bhūpa* Gobhaṭa who raided Kadwaha. The *Mayasaṃgraha*, a Śaivite scripture, recommends that in its lay out, a *guru*'s dwelling should be built like a palace and that it should have an 'arsenal for storage of

---

67. The Ranod inscription refers to its *maṭha* that possessed 'neighing horses and rutting elephants'. The Fragmentary Kadwaha inscription refers to Harirāja offering elephants to his *guru* which offer was declined. Lakṣmaṇarāja II is said to have presented to the god Someśvara, elephants, horses and other gifts. Mirashi (1955): 221, v. 62. Elephants came for sale in the market town of Bilhari at the (Nauhaleśvara) *maṭha*. *Ibid*, p. 223-24, v. 81. The Siddhānta ascetics' fascination for horses and elephants is evident in these references.
68. Cf. Agrawala, Vasudeva Sharan (1966): 211-13, Plates 27, 28, 13, 14.
69. *Ibid*, p. 216, quoting *Pṛthvīcandra Carita*. For architectural components of royal edifices or camps like *skandhāvāra*, *rājakula* and *dhavalagṛha*, see *ibid*, pp. 207-213.
70. *Ibid*, p. 207. *Mandurā* was meant to hold horses and camels.
71. *Ibid*, p. 211. The *Kādambarī* (p. 87) of Bāṇabhaṭṭa mentions it. The text (p. 90) also refers to *bāṇayogyāvāsa*, the place for practising archery. Both this space and an arsenal are often mentioned as components of palaces.
72. Cf. Dhureti Plates of 1212 CE, in Mirashi (1955): 372, line 17.

weapons of war': *dhanuḥ khaḍgaśarādīni vidadhyāta tu gṛhakṣate.*[73] The *Piṅgalāmata* adds *kuṭhāra, churikā, mudgara, kunta, danta, danḍa, lakuṭa, śakti, pāśa, śūlapatraka, cakra, gadā, śūla, vajra, aṅkuśa* and *phara* (shield), among other weapons, to this list.[74]

The *maṭhas* indeed seem to have been the stronghold of the Siddhānta ascetics' power and glory, and conspicuous for their ubiquitous, well-organized network in the *vindhyāṭavī.* They had garnered immense resources in their exclusive forest-based habitats, unmatched by other contemporary social and political institutions, especially as woodland communities seem to have aligned with them. In retrospect, the *maṭhas* seem to have become the tangible manifestations of the mythically legitimized lineage of the Siddhānta *munis* and their offshoots, complementing them both materially and temporally. The *maṭhas* also served as anchors to formalize *guru*-pupil streams that formed those lineages. If lineage was the sacred order of authority of successive *munis*, the *maṭhas* were the expanding loci of such authority, and one could not go without the other. Inscriptions consistently refer to lineages and their locus in the *maṭhas*. Instances time and again indicate succession of pupils to particular seats when a *guru* relinquished office,[75] or transferred the title,[76] or when a disciple migrated elsewhere to either establish,[77] or take over other seats.[78] Such transitions required *abhiṣeka*, which implied takeover of the *maṭha*, its title, activities, assets and all by a succeeding *ācārya*. The installation of an *ācārya* as the head of a *maṭha* was a momentous occasion[79] and succession is recorded in the genealogical lists found in contemporary epigraphs.

Maṭhas were run by the presiding *ācārya*, variously designated as *guru*, *muni*, *adhipati*, *pāla* or *nātha*. The *maṭha* was an exclusive place for penance and meditation of the *gurus* and their disciples, but also an entity that subtly asserted its spiritual, socio-political and economic power over the area that it commanded. Their ascetics offered *dīkṣā* apparently in consonance with the prescribed Agamic rituals which they claim to have mastered. However, the discretion of the *ācārya* or his disciples was probably an important factor in deciding whether or not a supplicant was worthy of being bestowed 'recognition' in the form of *dīkṣā*. Sometimes even adolescents were inducted as disciples, as was the case with Prabodhaśiva who is said to have practised 'austerities even in his boyhood', on the banks of the river Son, imitating his spiritual preceptor.[80] Needless to say, the bestowing of *dīkṣā* formally conferred upon the recipient a status of empowerment in proportion to the power and pelf of the *maṭha* that chose to so recognise him.

---

[73] According to Sanderson (2009: 261, fn. 616), *gṛhakṣate* "denotes [the deity of] a segment immediately to the east of its centre of the southern edge of the square plan." The Kadwaha Fragmentray inscription speaks of 'bows and arrows acquired by the [*ācārya*'s] miraculous power'. *E.I.*, 37, p. 118. For such weapons, cf, Fleet (1963): 6,12; *Amarakośa* II. 69-71.

[74] Cf., Sanderson (2009): 261-2, fn. 616) who quotes *Piṅgalāmata* as follows: ...*khagḍabāṇadhanuṣ caiva kuṭhāro mudgaras tathā cchurikā kuntadaṃtaśca citradaṇḍas tathaiva ca/lakuṭaṃ śakti pāśaś ca kaṇayaḥ śūlapatrakaḥ/cakrāsigadāvajraś ca ankuśaś ca kupaṭṭiśaḥ*/... Some of these, including a shield (*sphara*), are depicted as weapons in the hands of warriors and in battle scenes on hero stones from the region.

[75] This happened in case of Īsānanaśiva at Chandrehe and Vimalaśiva I at Tripuri.

[76] Hṛdayaśiva did this in favour of Aghoraśiva in the case of Nauhaleśvara *maṭha* of Bilhari.

[77] Gaganaśiva of Terahi, for instance, went to establish a *maṭha* at Hirapur, Odisha.

[78] Purandara II with Cudaśiva went to Madhumatī from Kadwaha. The process went on and it energetically aided the territorial expansion of Siddhanta ascetics. Resistance to such expansion was missing, for it had established its sway in woodlands unchallenged by the well-entrenched socio-economic and political institutions of mainland, which looked up to it for patronage and support.

[79] Cf. Sircar (1983): 587.

The *maṭha*s under the control of their presiding *ācāryas* also came to control trade, impose cess on sale of goods in the *maṇḍapikās*,[81] amassed wealth in vaults, organized fairs and festivals,[82] built temples[83] and other *maṭhas*,[84] acquiring virgin territories and expanding their space of operations, with their *ācāryas* doling out charity that further glorified them. Through the dynamics of their operation, the *muni*s and their *maṭhas* seem to have integrated the community through a combination of benevolence, demonstration of temporal power, and (dare we say) a hint of intimidating authority reflected in their works of public utility, health care, easement of movements and transporting system, augmenting the forest produce, facilitating transactions in forest products with traders and even offering protection in various ways to people under their protection. The land grants enriched them and the privileges made the *maṭha*s the symbols of Siddhānta ascetics' dominance over all else in the woodlands. No wonder that the *muni*s, ensconced there like *mahībhṛtas* (protectors of the earth), steeped in power and glory reduced to subservience the potentates who came supplicating to them. There is definitely more to the Siddhānta *munis* in central India than meets the eye. Moving across the terrain of the monastic establishments today one may easily find flourishing agricultural stretches in their vicinity, which seem to indicate the role of monasteries in promoting agricultural pursuits. One may read in their development a networking of agrarian complexes and their operating relationships, thanks to the intervention of the Siddhānta ascetics. In being the hub to control all such activities and much more the *maṭhas* do compel attention.

The details from a later Siddhānta epigraph extrapolated to central Indian monasteries help in understanding that *maṭhas* retained a clutch of skilled artisans and craftsmen

---

[80] Mirashi (1955): 200, 203, v. 11.

[81] *Supra*, p. 65.

[82] *Supra*, p. 66. The Bilhari record seems to speak of a fair at the site when people from distant places joined the festivities and rituals. Mirashi (1955): 224.

[83] *E.I.* 1, p. 359, v. 44; Mirashi (1955): 231, v. 11; Mirashi (1974): 182.

[84] *E.I.* 1, p. 355, v. 15; Jain and Trivedi (1976), 90, v.10.

(*sthapati*, *kāru* and *śilpin*) who would build temples and monasteries.[85] In the case of the Viśveśvara *golakī maṭha*, they were collectively conferred the rights to share ten *puṭṭikā*s of land out of a substantial land grant that had been made over to the *maṭha*. The land grants to *maṭha*s suggest that they turned into landed magnates managing vast land with peasants as share croppers and employing different functionaries. The land grants assisted the *muni*s in carrying out ritual, scholastic, administrative and even judicial functions. They also ran a feeding houses and a maternity home, offering succour to people.

The Siddhānta movement in central India progressed to oblivion when these reclusive ascetics turned into householders with families. The Dhureti plates, which record the ascetics mortgaging their property to *ṭhakkura* Dhāreka, bear this out. But their deliberate attachment to and hegemonic tryst with power, also needs resolution. Was it accidental, circumstantial or deliberate? Traditionally, a *sanyāsin* was supposed to renounce his worldly ties, including life, formally through performance of *antyeṣṭhi*, 'last rites', before entering into ascetic-hood (*sanyāsa*). The ascetic thus extinguished all signs and traces of his existence when he became a *muni*. The *dīkṣā* into *sanyāsa* made a new being of him, now given to the state of renunciation. We do find these Siddhāntin renouncers engaged in penance, meditation, learning, erudite discourses, philosophical compositions, austerity, self-mortification, abstinence from luxuries, and physical fulfilments or pleasure, and diligence in performance of rituals. This life seems to stand in utter contrast to the affluence of the *maṭha*s under their charge. These imposing architectural marvels, simple yet austere, forbidding, awe-inspiring and generally fortified, were also replete with *dhānya*, *hiraṇya*, *ratna*, horses and elephants and even weapons of war. This contrast between the professed renunciation and actual accumulation of wealth and temporal power is difficult to ignore, for the interiors of the *maṭha*s materially contain evidence of their affluence. They had impressive, concealed underground vaults (for valuables) and stone silos for storing rich harvests. What was the purpose of having such secret vaults in the *maṭha*s? The *āṭavika*s, in whose midst the *muni*s lived and functioned, must have appreciated receiving doles of food, but it is difficult to believe that they would have had any use or need for gold and jewels. Acquisition of wealth may reflect a state of 'acquisitive monasticism' probably representing a contradiction or perhaps the difference between practicing and preaching? If one were to extend the argument further, it may even be said that the entire build up of the Siddhānta *muni*s, in terms of penance, meditation, renunciation, and all that, eventually reduced to the fulfilment of the primeval lust for power over fellow humans. Thus, a carefully crafted image of piety and righteousness became instrumental in the ascetics' acquiring a firm following and then translating it into authority and power. That would have ensured amassing of all the advantages that power entailed—glory, political clout, a grand following, and devastation and subjugation of all other institutions that could rise up in competition!

---

[85] The Visvesvara *golakī-maṭha* in Andhra retained a contingent consisting of *sthapati*, *kāru*, *nāpita* and *śilpin* and artisans who made objects of gold, copper, bamboo and *ayaskumbha* (metallic pitcher): *suvarṇa-tāmra-pāṣāṇa-vamśāyaskumbha-kārakaḥ/ete sthapati-saṃyuktāḥ kāru-nāpita-śilpinaḥ*, Sircar (1983): 585, vv. 58-59. They also retained coercive forces; see *Supra*, p. 73, fn. 220.

5

Monastic Temples and Sculptures

Monastic architecture and art, discussed here, relate to Siddhanta ascetics' monasteries, temples and temple sculptures, which all tend to invoke the dynamics, belief or doctrines of that faith. Of these works, the monasteries, as seen above, dot the vast, rocky territories in Vindhyan woodlands that ascetics occupied in their stride. Temples were added to the monasteries later everywhere except at Kodal and Chandrehe. At Kodal, the monastery and temple came up together as a pair; at Chandrehe, the monastery followed the temple. These monastic temples[1] and their statuary are discussed now in their Siddhāntin perspective. In monasteries, such exclusivity is apparent in their being starkly un-embellished structures in tune with austere living and practices of the renunciates who occupied them. The temples standing by their side or in vicinity reflect regional stylistic and iconographic patterns of their times and carry the conventional Śaivite statuary, besides highlighting the figures of ascetics, unusual Mātṛkās, bizarre hosts of ghouls and banshees (*preta-varga*), and Cāmuṇḍā. Along with the Śaivite images the temples also configure other cult gods and goddesses, *dikpāla*s, *vyāla*, *surasundarī*s, narratives and friezes of men and animals. The statuary on the *varaṇḍikā* of Bhuteshwara temple of Batesar represents even tigers, wild boars, monkeys and elephants, the wildlife that flourished in woodlands.

Śaivite icons are predominant in the vast repertoire of figural work on temples or their remains. The exclusive Siddhāntin statuary among them consists of motifs and forms like penance-related figures of Lakulīśa, Pārvati, Brahma, ascetics and even a Jina, besides Gaṇeśa, Kārttikeya, Sarasvatī and Śiva in his different forms (*linga-abhiṣeka*, Sadāśiva, Naṭeśa, Kalyāṇasundara, Ardhanārīśvara, Bhairava, for instance). Pārvati is sometimes depicted in the midst of five fires (*pañcāgni*: four flames around and the Sun above). Cāmuṇḍā and Mātṛkās tend to reflect the ascetics' attempts to accommodate indigenous belief systems within the wider Śaivite pantheon. These forms occur repeatedly on temples, especially from the ninth century. Their regular occurrence, apart from their artistic merit, significantly illustrates the Siddhāntin theistic and doctrinal expansion in Gopācala, the cradle of the faith and Ḍāhala where it prospered further.

---

[1] We propose to cover only those temples which today stand next to the *maṭha*s with the two together forming a pair complementing each other.

Inscriptions from Gopācala and Ḍāhala from the ninth to the twelfth century refer to several Śaivite temples and *maṭhas* built by Siddhānta *munis*. They also indicate temple building as a community exercise undertaken by the ascetics with the participation of a cross section of society including queens,[2] ministers, generals[3] and other state functionaries like *rāṇaka* and *rāvala* and also by *brāhmaṇa*, *kāyastha*, a *nāyaka* and traders.[4] Rulers figure as builders of Śiva temples in these records only in two (or probably three) instances: once in Gopācala where Vatsarāja built a *maṇḍapikā* at Mahua[5] in mid-seventh century and then in Ḍāhala at Gurgi[6] where Yuvarājadeva I built a temple for Śiva. A temple at Maihar[7] could possibly be ascribed to the Kalacuri Lakṣmaṇarāja II (946-973). In comparison, documented evidence affirms that Siddhānta ascetics (excluding the Pāśupatas in two cases) such as Vyomaśiva, Pataṅgaśambhu, Praśāntaśiva and Vimalaśiva II built five temples (*devāyatana*, *devakula*, *prāsāda*, *kīrti*) respectively at Ranod (two), Chandrehe, Gurgi and Bheraghat-Tripuri tract. A temple dedicated to Navadurgā (876 CE) in ancient Gwalior[8] was built by the local community, especially traders and oilmen (*tailika*) who took care of its maintenance and provided oil for perpetual lighting. A (Śaivite) *sthānādhikṛta* too was in place here, apparently playing a role in its management.[9]

---

[2] Mirashi (1955): 212, tr. 220, vv.40-42, 45. This temple, possibly at Bilhari, accompanied the Nohaleśvara *maṭha* of the queen Nohalā. The Śambhu-Vaidyanātha and Bhagnakhidra-Śiva temples in Bheraghat-Tripuri tract were respectively built by Queen Mothers. Mirashi (1955): 320, 364.

[3] Mirashi (1955): 284, vv. 8-20.

[4] Cf, Misra, R.N. (1987b) 139-154, Appendix II: Data Catalogue of Temples of Ḍāhala... For works in Gopācala, see below.

[5] *Supra*, p. 122.

[6] Mirashi (1955): 231, v. 11. Yuvarājadeva I built the Somanātha temple at Gurgi in mid-tenth century.

[7] Mirashi (1955): 213, tr. 221, v. 57. Reference here is to the 'Vaidyanātha' monastery. The temple that survives today, named locally as *golāmaṭha* could be either his work or that of the Siddhānta ascetic Hṛdayaśiva. Cf., also Misra, R.N. (1987b): 45-46.

[8] Cf. *E.I.* 1, pp. 154-162. The two inscriptions (875 and 876 CE) of Gwalior respectively refer to a Vaiṣṇavite temple and a temple dedicated to Navadurgā (nine Durgās) who are laconically described as 'Rudrā, Rudrāṇī, Pūrṇaśā etc.': *rudrā rudrāṇī pūrnāśādi navadurgā āyatanāya...*, *E.I.* 1, p. 159, line 3. The inscription referring to the Navadurgā temple also mentions a grant to it of 270 × 187 *hasta* of land in the Cūḍāpallikā village that was 'the property of the town'. This grant made by the community and the arrangements specified in it help in attributing the construction of Navadurgā temple to the local community, including traders, chiefs of oil-millers, a guild of gardeners and others, with little role of the imperial rulers or their local commanders in running it. The community also supported the other temple of Gwalior dedicated to Viṣṇu. *E.I*, 1, p.159-160, tr. 160-162. For identification of the Navadurgā temple with Teli ka mandir (Gwalior), see *infra*, p. 177, fn.60.

The *devāyatana* (tenth century) of Vyomaśiva at Ranod was dedicated to Śiva and had in it the '*Śivayugma*' (Umā-Maheśvara), besides '*Umādevī*, *Naṭyeśvara* and *Vināyaka*.'[10] Pataṅgaśambhu (tenth century) built a *devakula* apart from accomplishing other works, probably at Ranod.[11] Pataṅgaśambhu's inscription refers to Āmardaka's *sthāna* being 'embellished for ever' in perpetuity'.[12] This may have reference to Amrol's embellishment with temples by Rudraśiva.

At Gurgi[13] in Ḍāhala, we have both Yuvarājadeva I and Praśāntaśiva respectively building Somanātha (Śiva) and Īśvaraśiva temples. The Somanātha temple is described in the Gurgi inscription of Kokalladeva II as 'resembling the shining peak of Kailāsa mountain'. Praśāntaśiva built Īśvaraśiva temple at Gurgi[14] and one more at Chandrehe.[15] There is also a reference to the 'Candramauli' (Śiva) temple built by Vimalaśiva II in 1174 CE 'for the religious merit of his *guru*', 'out of reverence for him'.[16] The god in the temple was named Kīrtīśvara after Kīrtiśiva, the *guru* of Vimalaśiva II. This work must have come up near Tripurī as the inscription was found at Jabalpur, which has in its vicinity the villages granted to the temple.

While the epigraphic data adduced above may not cover the entire temple building activity in Gopācala and Ḍāhala during the period under review, it still substantially helps in attributing them to Siddhānta ascetics independent of the rulers of the day. They could indeed accomplish this because they had the means and the will to do it. The *munis* retained skilled artisans[17] and had wealth too in the monasteries, which is testified by epigraphs and also by the fact that they were secured by fortification which would have been pointless in case of their being resourceless. It would thus be plausible to assume that Siddhānta ascetics patronized temple building more than the rulers did. They built the temples which accompany *maṭhas* at Kadwaha, Surwaya, Terahi, Chandrehe, Kodal and elsewhere. The proximity of temples with *maṭhas* there underscores their mutually interactive status regulated by the ascetics. The temples facilitated the ascetics and their disciples in performing rituals like offering libations to fire[18] or offering worship to the deity according to the Āgamas.[19] The procedure of icon worship consisted of offering a white garment, sandal and even costly gifts, like horses and elephants, to the deity.[20]

---

[9] One of the Gwalior inscriptions mentions a *sthānādhikṛta* (*E.I*, 1, p. 160, line 2) at Gwalior and the title reminds us of the *sthānapatis* like Śaṅkhamaṭhikādhipati, Terambipāla and others in the other *maṭhas*. The dominance of the ascetics in the hinterland, which was crucial for the movement of traders, might have been the reason behind the presence of a *sthānādhikṛta* in the town council (*vāra*) at Gwalior. Or, one could even think of there being a *golakī maṭha* in ancient Gwalior itself as a link to the other *maṭhas* in the hinterland with its *sthānādhikṛta* as mediator.

[10] *E.I.*, 1, p. 359, v. 44. This was in addition to the *maṭha* built here by Purandara, *Ibid*, p. 355, v. 15.

[11] Mirashi (1974): 182, v. 40.

[12] *Ibid*, p. 179, v. 7.

[13] Mirashi (1955): 228, 230, tr. 231 and its fn. 2, also *ibid*, p. 233, vv. 11, 42. Reference here is to 'Somanātha' and 'Īśvara' temples dedicated to Śiva and built respectively by the first Yuvarājadeva and Praśāntaśiva at Gurgi.

[14] *Supra*, p. 127.

[15] Mirashi (1955): 201, tr. 203, v. 203. The verse in the Chandrehe inscription describes a *maṭha* built by Prabodhaśiva near the temple of his *guru* Praśāntaśiva (*gurukṛta surāgāra*).

[16] Vimalaśiva II built Kīrtīśvara temple named after his *guru* Kīrtiśiva and established gardens, tanks, charitable feeding houses, temples and houses of Brāhmaṇas. Cf., Mirashi (1955): 339, v.43, 45

TEMPLES

We may now describe the five temples named above as these are the ones that have survived along with their monasteries.[21] The *sarvatobhadra* miniature temple (*c.* 750-755 CE),[22] on the roof of the Surwaya *maṭha* is the earliest of such monastic shrines and it was followed by full-fledged temples at Terahi (*c.* 800-825 CE),[23] Chandrehe (*c.* 950 CE),[24] Surwaya, Kadwaha (tenth century) and Kodal (11th century). While temple architecture of the period evinces much variety and profuse experimentations concerning morphological elements in different works, the temples attached to the *maṭhas* underscore a general uniformity in their constitutive elements.They are built on a *pañcaratha* plan of the sanctum (*vimāna*) with a *mukha maṇḍapa* in front and an *antarāla* (vestibule) between them. The vestibule is enclosed within the *kapilī* walls on both the sides. In elevation, the temples represent *dvi-anga* (devoid of *śikhara*) or

---

[17] *Supra*, pp. 149-150.

[18] Mirashi (1955): 203, v. 10.

[19] *Ibid*, p. 200, v. 11: *vicārya nikhilāgamānvidhisamādhi buddheśvaraḥ*...Also, p. 213, v. 50 referring to Śaivāgamas.

[20] Mirashi (1955): 221, v. 62.

[21] We exclude all other temples from our discussions because they exist without their *maṭhas*. Their connection with with Siddhānta Śaivism, however, is circumstantially indicated and has been discussed in the Chapters 3 and 4.

[22] *Supra*, p. 107. The date indicated here is based on its similarity with the *śikhara* of the Kuraiya Bir Temple of Kuchdon. The Kuraiya Bir Temple is dated in 750-755 CE. Cf., Meister M. W, M.A. Dhaky and Krishna Deva, *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture: North India: Foundation of North Indian Style*, AIIS: Princeton University Press, pp. 153-155, pl. 303. (hereafter *ETA*)

[23] The dating follows that of *ETA*. Cf., Meister, Michael W, M. A. Dhaky (1991), *ETA: North India: Period of Early Maturity* pp. 36-39. Pls. 69-73.

[24] The temple at Chandrehe is attributed to Praśāntaśiva in the Chandrehe inscription of Prabodhaśiva. It was in place a generation before 973 CE when the *maṭha* was erected at Chandrehe by Prabodhaśiva. However, this sequence of constructions does not assure us to suggest that in all the other instances temples came first and the *maṭhas* afterwards.

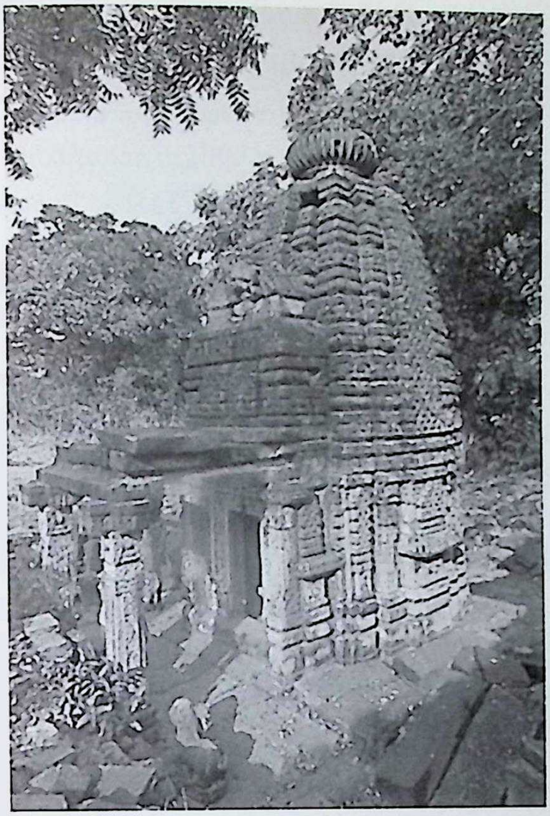
tri-anga (with *śikhara*) types, the latter generally with a *pañcabhūmi śikhara*.The absence of an inner *bhramarī* (for circumambulation) defines them as *nirandhāra* type of *prāsādas*. Similarities are demonstrated in the vertical division of the *jaṅghā* into *bhadra*, *anurathas* and *karṇa*, with *devakoṣṭhas* and their distinctive *udgamas* (pediments) particularly on the *bhadra* parts of the *jaṅghā*.

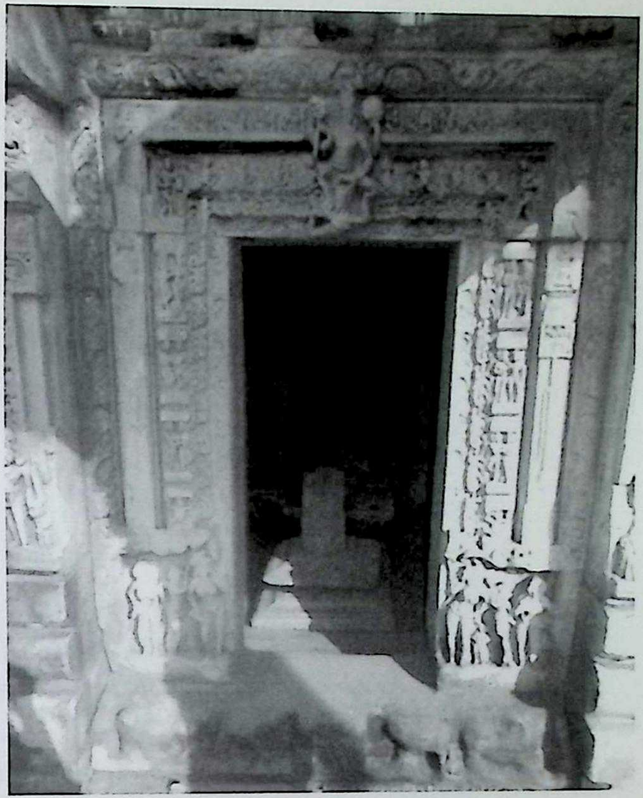
Wherever sculptures have survived, the *bhadras* carry cult images in *devakoṣṭha*, *anurathas* carry subsidiary figures, including *surasundarīs*, and *karṇas* have *dikpālas*. Pillars in the temples are mostly of *rucaka*, *bhadraka* and *misraka* types, generally similar and often elaborately carved unlike those in the accompanying *maṭhas*. Similarities occur in the decorative details too. The elevation displays the usual elements like a *pīṭha* with multiple *vedībandha* mouldings surmounted by a *jaṅghā*, which, in the developed works, has two staggered horizontal bands of sculptures. A *jagatī* in these temples was optional. It is seen only in the later works (Chandrehe, Kodal). Some of the temples (Kadwaha, Surwaya) have a *padmapīṭha*.

Elaborations became the order in the tenth century works. These are seen on the *pīṭha* embellished with figures in niches (Surwaya, Kadwaha, Kodal). The *jaṅghā* in most of the temples came to have statuary, distributed horizontally like a garland around the body of the temple with bigger sculptures in the lower register and smaller ones in the upper one. The figural pattern in the temples highlighted the *udgama*-topped *bhadra* niche of the lower register. The upper register contained *mithuna* figures or those of musicians and dancers. Sometimes even the recesses contained *mithunas* or demi-gods. The *varaṇḍikā*, above the *kapota* over the *jaṅghā*, was composed of a set of chequers (Kodal) or displayed other decorative patterns. Wherever a *śikhara* has survived, it shows *latā* ending up through *bhūmis* with its top formed of *āmalasāraka*, *candrikā* and *ghaṭa*. The *śikhara* of the Chandrehe temple is exceptional as it is circular and is made of a cluster of sixteen *latās* remarkably pleasing in appearance.

Some of the *mukha-maṇḍapas* (Chandrehe, for instance) of temples also had a *kakṣāsana* on the sides, built over the *vedībandha*. These had pillars and pilasters to support the roof with *chādya*. A *vitāna*, made of intersecting squares or of concentric circles or concentric squares, or even a plain *padmaka*, covered the *mukha maṇḍapa*. This arrangement is seen at Kadwaha and Chandrehe. The *pañcaśākha* doorways of the temples also underwent elaborations in that the *lalāṭa* was often sculpted with Naṭeśa as the central piece (Kadwaha, Kodal) and other divinities on the ends. *Mithunas* on the jambs and Ganga-Yamuna with Śaivite *dvārapālas* on *peḍya* completed the decoration scheme of the doorways. Consummately organized elaboration, whether in their plan or in elevation, was the keyword in the developed examples and such monuments exhibit maturity.

Apart from this brief but general survey, specific instances may help in explaining the temple forms with particular details, and that follows. Since the miniature temple on the





Left:
Pl. 47. Śiva temple, Terahi.

Right:
Pl. 48. Doorway to the temple, Terahi.

roof of the Surwaya *maṭha* has already been described earlier,[25] we may continue our description moving over to the Śiva temple at Terahi (anc. Teramvi or Terambi) which came into prominence with Terambipāla, the third *muni* of the Siddhānta lineage of Kadambaguha.

TERAHI

Terahi is supposed to date from the seventh century. It has yielded three temples of which the Śiva temple (**Pl. 47**), facing west and being described here, stands close to the *maṭha*. It is composed of a *garbhagṛha* and an open *mukha-manḍapa* (porch). Its *vimāna* is built on *pañcaratha* plan and it has a *pañcabhūmi śikhara*. The *manḍapa* containing the doorway is set on two outer *miśraka* pillars and two inner pilasters, with *bhadraka* shafts tastefully ornamented with foliated bands. Such pillars in monasteries have similar *bhadraka* forms *sans* ornamentation.

The doorway (**Pl. 48**) with a damaged *udumbara* below is made of five-fold *rūpaśākhās* respectively depicting *mithunas*, Nāgas, foliage (*patra*), *stambha* and other details.The *peḍyas* depict Ganga (left) and Yamuna (right) with female attendants. The *uttaranga* is elaborately carved with four-armed Viṣṇu in the centre seated on Garuḍa, a lower frieze showing nine flying Gandharvas each carrying a garland and the upper frieze of twelve Ādityas (one badly damaged) and a female figure on each of the two ends. In carving the Ādityas, Terahi seems to anticipate the doorway of Kadwaha's monastic temple except that the latter has the central figure of Naṭeśa instead of Viṣṇu. The lower frieze displays two miniature figures of ascetics on the move, each carrying a bag. These two friezes are surmounted by a foliated *patraśākhā* with five projecting niches (*devakulikās*) and four other recessed ones, smaller in size. These niches are devoid of figures; apparently, they were intended for the nine *Mātṛkas*. This entire formation ends with a row of hanging garlands in relief at the top. The doorway leads through an *antarāla* (vestibule) to the sanctum that contains a *linga*.

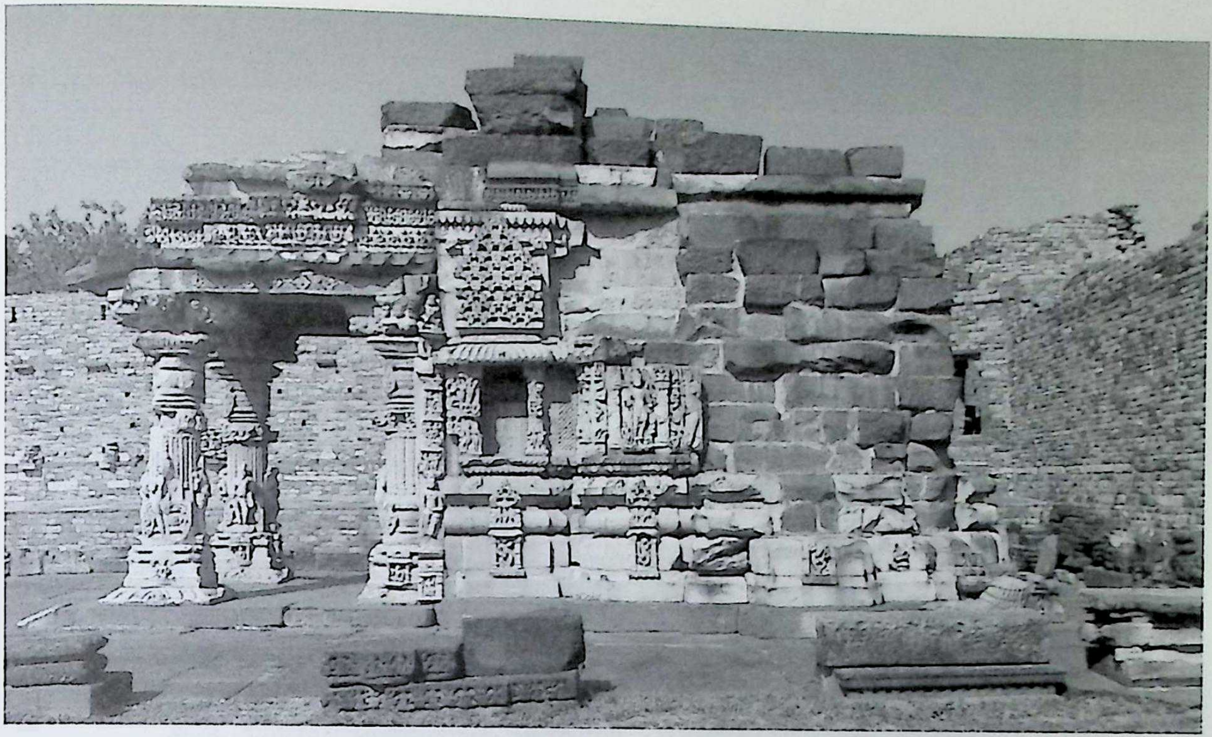
---

[25] *Supra*, p. 107.

Externally, the temple is a *tri-anga vimāna* without a *jagatī* but with a *pīṭha*, *janghā* and *śikhara*. The *pīṭha* is composed of boldly executed *vedibandha* evincing *khura*, *kumbha*, *kalaśa* and *kapota* following *pañcaratha* orientation of the *bhū-vinyāsa* (plan). The *janghā* rises over them and is divided into *bhadra*, *anuratha* and *karṇa*. The *bhadra* has a *devakoṣṭha* containing Kārttikeya (E), Pārvati by five fires (N) and dancing Gaṇeśa (S) and an elaborate *khurachādya* surmounts the niche. Above it are *tulāsaṃgraha*, *udgama* and *kapota* ending in the *varaṇḍikā* above. The *varaṇḍikā*, running ubiquitously around the body of the temple above the *janghā*, is made of two bands, one displaying *tulāsaṃgraha*—five on the *bhadra*, two on the *anuratha*, three on the *karṇa* and none on the *kapilī*, which has chequers on the corresponding portion—and the other band made of the *kapota* moulding. The *anuratha* is made of *ghaṭa-pallava* marked *bhadraka* pilasters, and the *karṇa*s have *dikpāla*s, including Indra, Varuṇa, Vāyu, Agni, Nairṛti, Kubera and Yama, in the small *devakoṣṭha*s topped by elongated *udgama*s. The figure of Īśāna here is damaged but the mounts may identify the other *dikpāla*s. The *kapilī* walls emulate the *bhadra devakoṣṭha* with pilasters on the flanks, *kūṭachādya* as a canopy above, surmounted by a set of four *tulāsaṃgraha*, *kapota* and an elongated *udgama*. All these *devakoṣṭha*s are shorter than their *bhadra* prototype. Of the *kapilī*s, the one in the north has Durgā while the other on south is damaged. The *salilāntara*s either carry small niches with long, thin pediments on them or have creepers rising upwards.

The *śikhara* has a *śukanāsikā* (damaged at the top) on its front, sitting on the roof of the *antarāla* below. It is carved with *udgama*s and other architectural decorations on front and on the sides. The other three sides have a central *latā* flanked by double *veṇukośa*s with *salilāntaras* separating each of these members from the other on both the sides. The tapering central *latā*, beautifully enmeshed with *candraśālās*, rises up to the *skandha* part of the *śikhara* along with the ascending series of double *veṇukośa*s on its flanks that have *bhūmi-āmalaka* above their *kapota*s. Each such set of the *veṇukośa*s in the series serves as a base for the next. Five such *bhūmi-āmalaka*s on the *anuratha* and *karṇa* make it a *pañcabhūmi śikhara*. The flat *skandha* above these formations carries an *āmalaka* and *āmalasārikā* at the summit, marking its completion.

The similarity between the *śikhara* of the Terahi temple and other examples at Batesar and elsewhere indicates that it was architecturally not an exception but integral to a wider



Pl. 49. Śiva temple (No. 1), Surwaya.

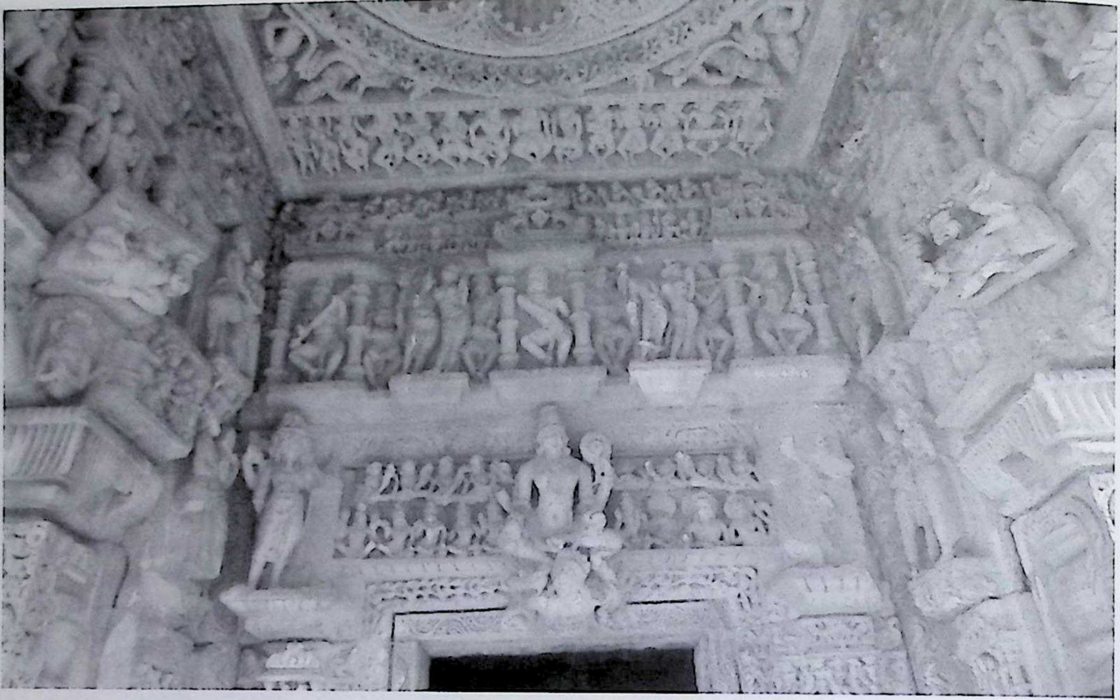
stylistic programme rooted in the Gopācala region and even beyond. Such stylistic unity in temple architecture confirms a common patronage and the Siddhānta ascetics are the likeliest patrons considering the proximity of the temples with their *maṭhas* in the wilderness of the *āṭavika* woodlands. We also have ascetics depicted on the doorway of the temple. Later, they received greater prominence at Surwaya.

SURWAYA

The temple (No. 1) at Surwaya (**Pl. 49**) stands to the north of the monastery. Its position indicates that it was intended to serve the ritual requirements of the ascetics in the monastery.[26] It is an early tenth century work and two other temples were added later, inside the monastic complex, towards the west of the compound. Still later, as an inscription of 1285 CE indicates, the site came under the control of the Yājvapālas. The monastery and the Śiva temple with some prominent Vaiṣṇavite motifs make an interesting combination. Such combinations occur elsewhere too. For instance, a contemporary *raṅgamaṇḍapa* at Padhavali combines Śaivite motifs with Śakti, Sūrya, Viṣṇu, Vināyaka and others. Similarly, in the Devī temple (No. 20) of *valabhī śikhara* at Naresar the figures of Viṣṇu and Sūrya occur on the *jaṅghā*. The Surwaya temple (No.1) may be assigned to Śaivism especially as it has a central figure of Naṭeśa on the upper lintel. The temple and other structures within the entire complex signify a configuration where the exclusivity of Siddhānta Śaivism turned accommodative.

---

[26] The temple is generally attributed to the Kacchapaghātas regardless of its close proximity with ascetics, its Siddhānta-related monastery and its statuary's disposition towards *munis*.

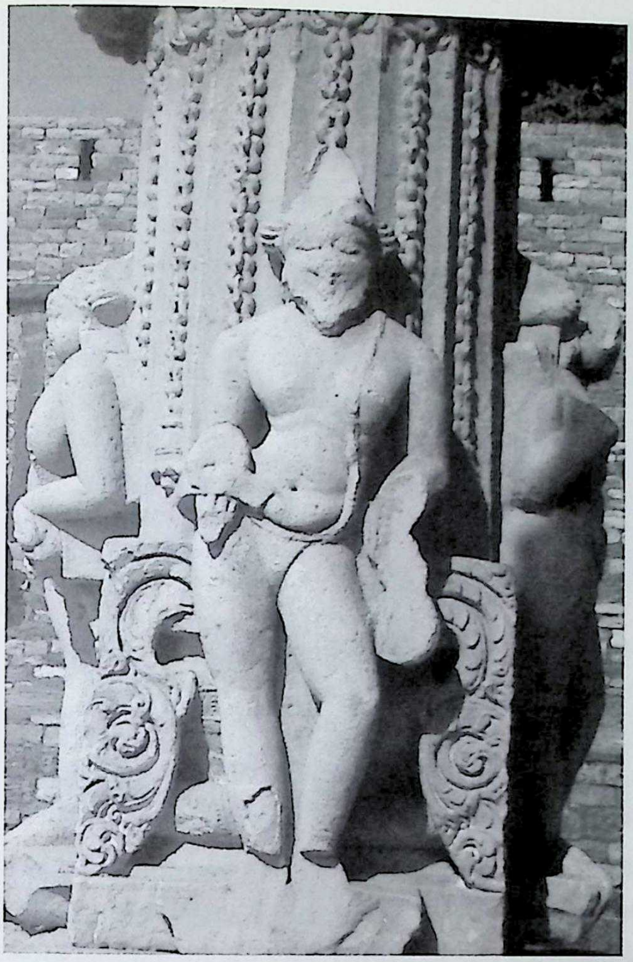


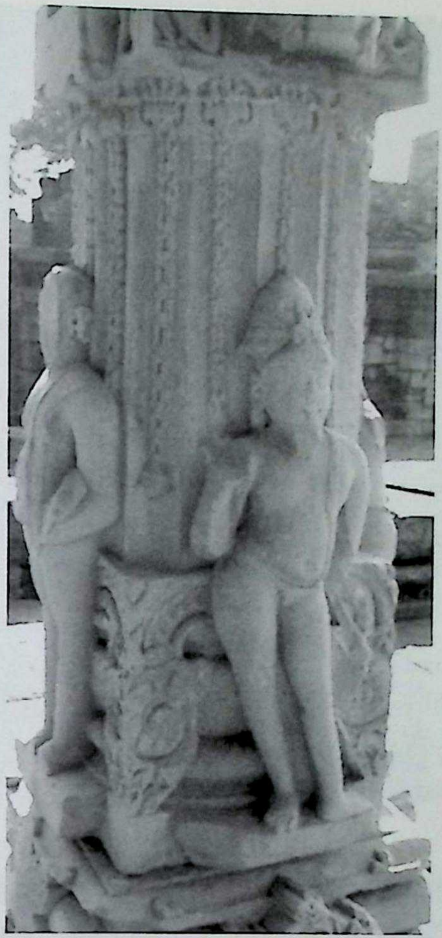
Pl. 50. Partial view of ceiling and doorway, Temple (No. 1), Surwaya.

In plan, the temple consists of *mukha-maṇḍapa*, *kapilī* and *garbhagṛha*. The sanctum externally is built on *pañcaratha* plan but its *śikhara* is missing. The *kapilī* and sanctum stand on a *pīṭha* that has a bold *vedībandha* composed of *khura*, *kumbha*, *kalaśa* and *kapota*. The *khura* is common to the entire structure. The *mukha-maṇḍapa* is elaborately ornamented with reliefs and figures and rests on two highly ornate outer pillars and corresponding pilasters on the inner side. The pillars of *miśraka* type are raised on a *padmapīṭha* and are ornamented with small pilastered and canopied niches. They have a sixteen-sided shaft with a chain and bell design that is suspended from a foliated carving down the abacus. The abacus features *bhāravāhaka* figures and is surmounted by a *ghata-pallava* capital. Above, there are *bhāravāhaka* brackets supporting a *chādya* and richly carved architraves. The architraves internally enclose the elaborately decorated *vitāna* (ceiling) of the *mukhamaṇḍapa*.The cusped arches and figural decoration of the *vitāna* are exquisitely carved and the embellishment continues down to the carved doorway (Pl. 50) that leads to the sanctum. The pillars bear life size figures of ascetics (Pls. 51, 52) and the architraves within the *mukhamaṇḍapa* exhibit a sumptuous variety of statuary arrayed in two bands. The lower band of the architrave in the south displays five pilastered and canopied niches in a row, containing standing couples with female attendants on the flanks of three central niches. The space between canopies is filled with *gaṇas* carrying four *kirīṭa* and *karaṇḍamukuṭas* (crowns).[27] The upper band has flying Gandharva couples in a row with yet another *mukuṭa* held by two centrally located *gaṇas*.

---

[27] Instead of *gaṇas*, the figures of ascetics occur on the canopy of the *bhadrakulikās* of Thubon (Hori ki Madhiya: Pl. 123).





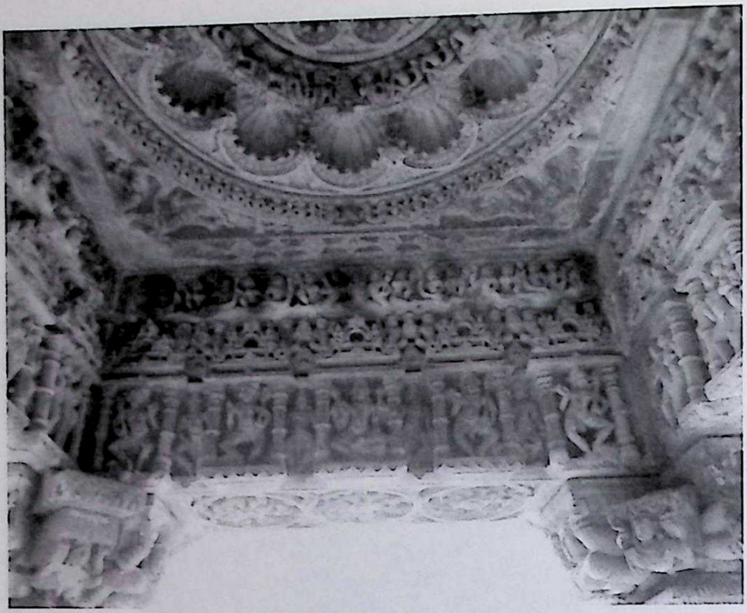
Left:
Pl. 51. Ascetic on a pillar of *mukhamaṇḍapa*.

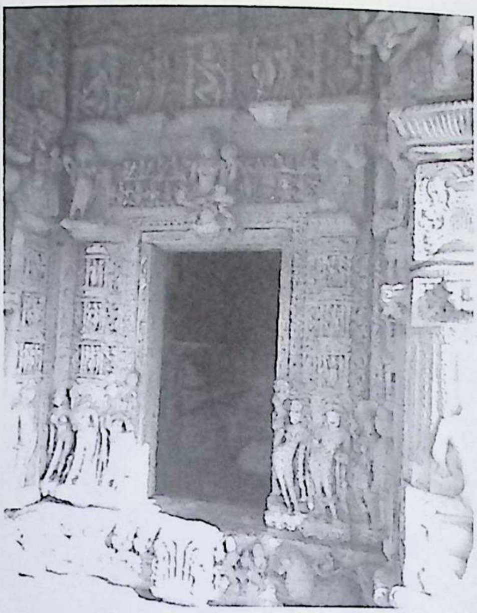
Right:
Pl. 52. Other ascetic figures.

The architrave on west (Pl. 53) similarly has lower band of five canopied niches with a four-armed, seated figure of Sūrya in the central niche and trident-bearing standing *gaṇa*s on two other niches flanking it. The space between canopies is occupied by four pairs of seated *gaṇa*s holding four crowns. The upper band has flying couples in a row with two centrally located *gaṇa*s holding clubs and carrying yet another crown. The architrave on the north is similarly carved with two bands; the lower band has five niches containing standing couples and four crown-bearing *gaṇa*s; the upper band has only the flying couples. In sum, the *gaṇa*s, the flying Gandharvas and Apsaras with garlands, the couples and the crowns are all suggestive of the temple being in a perpetual state of celebration related probably to *abhiṣeka* (consecration) rituals, with divinities and celestials in attendance.[28] The eastern side

---

28. The representation of crowns in the midst of celebrations may warrant an explanation. One may hazard a guess that either these crowns celebrate the investiture of ascetics in likeness of *mahībhṛtas* (rulers),which they claimed to be, or mark a ritualistic regimen preceding *dīkṣā* of rulers (which was like their own consecration) within the mould of temporal power of the monastery and its clergy. There is however, no evidence to prove this speculation but the presence





Left:
Pl. 53. *Mukhamaṇḍapa* architrave with reliefs.

Right:
Pl. 54. Doorway, Temple (No. 1), Surwaya.

of the *mukha-maṇḍapa* has an ornate doorway leading to the *garbhagṛha*.

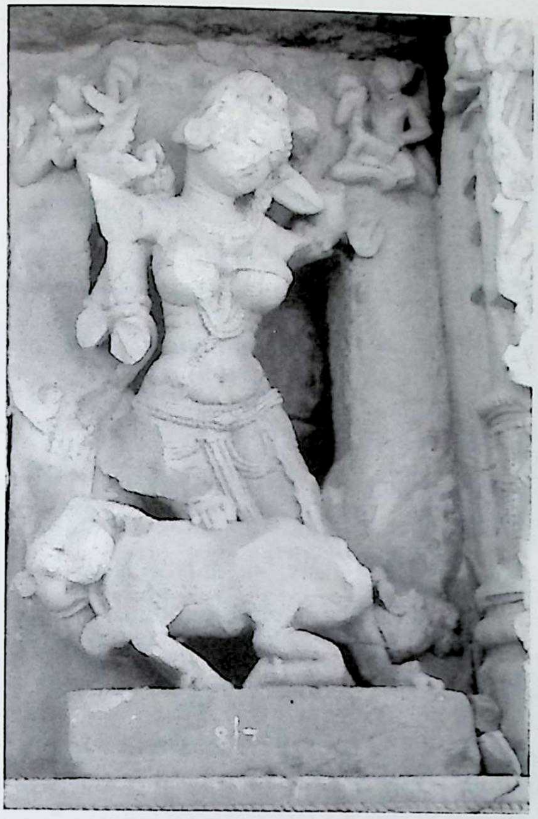
The *pañcaśākhā* doorway (**Pl. 54**) has a massive *udumbara* with a *mandāraka* in the centre and is carved with lions and pitcher-bearing figures including two dwarf *udadhi kumāras* wearing *kaupīna*. These dwarf figures may recall the description of Prabodhaśiva who is said to have practiced austerities right from his childhood.[29] The doorway is adorned with scrolls, *nāgaśākhā*, *mithuna*, lotus creeper and *latāpatra* and its *peḍyas* have the figures of Ganga (left) and Yamuna (right) along with Śaivite *dvārapālas*. The *mithuna śākhā* is flanked by *vyālas*. Its *uttaraṅga* is divided into two bands, the lower one having *garuḍāsana* Viṣṇu in the centre, Brahmā to left and possibly Śiva (damaged) to the right. The *navagrahas* and *vidyādharas* occupy the space in between. The upper band of the lintel has Naṭeśa in the centre, Vīṇādhara-Śiva and Kārttikeya on ends, all set within canopied niches. Vināyaka-Vaināyakī and Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa figure between Vīṇadhara-Śiva and Kārttikeya. Above these, nine Mātṛkās with Gaṇeśa and Kārttikeya are depicted in a frieze while yet another frieze carries a row of *vidyādharas*. The door leads to the sanctum which shelters a (now reset) Śiva-*linga*.

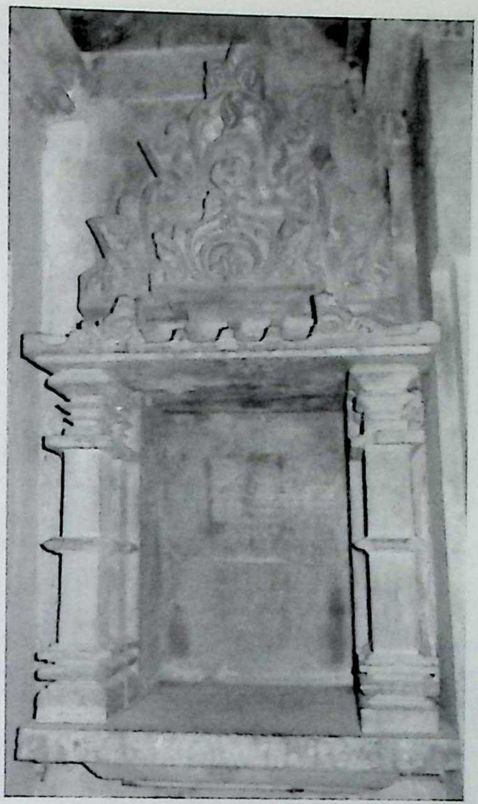
The temple is ruined externally and is without a *śikhara*. From what remains of its north face, it is seen that its sanctum and the *kapilī* are raised on a five-course *vedībandha* which ends at the *jaṅghā* with an intervening *kapota*. The *vedībandha* contained *gaṇas* in niches. The *jaṅghā*, along with its two bands of images, and the *varaṇḍikā* are almost totally in ruins

---

of such crowns in a monastic temple assertively guarded by ascetics appearing on the pillars of *maṇḍapa* begs explanation.

[29] Mirashi (1955): 201, v. 11.



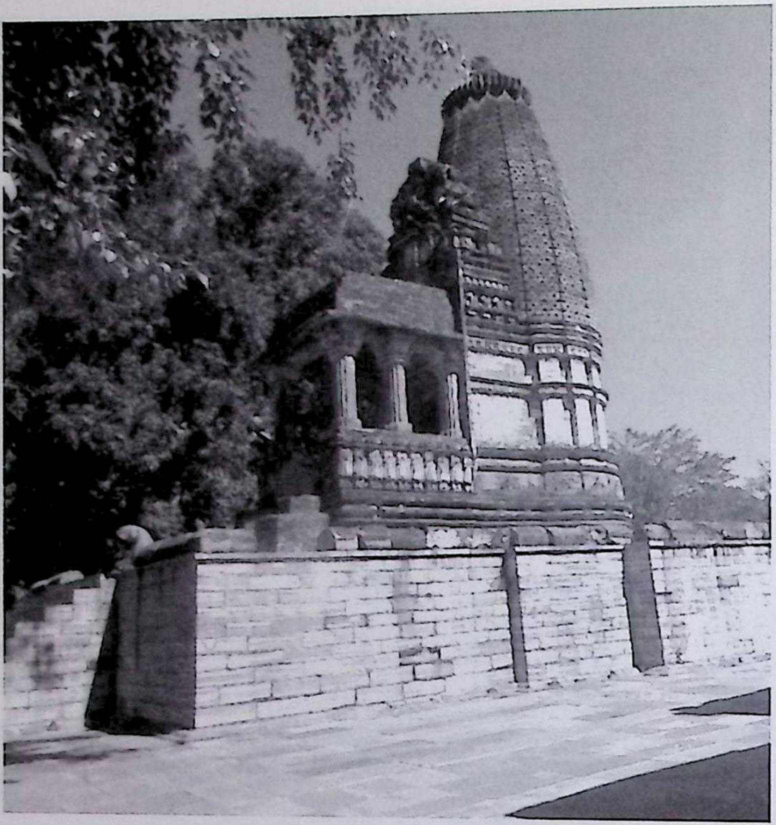


Left:
Pl. 55. Mahiṣāsuramardinī, *kapilī* niche (N), Surwaya.

Right:
Pl. 56. Niche as in Chandrehe *maṭha*.

though Mahiṣāsuramardinī (Pl. 55) survives in the *kapilī* niche (N) that is surmounted by an *udgama*. The figure of Vāyu has survived on the *karṇa* (N). The figure of Viṣṇu on the other *karṇa*(S) does not belong to the temple. The *śikhara* of the temple is missing.

Whatever survives of the temple today is remarkable for its elaborate statuary. The figures are exquisitely and tastefully distributed all around on its pillars, *maṇḍapa*, the doorway and its *śākhās*, *lalāṭa*, *prastaras* (architraves) and *vitāna* (ceiling). The corners of the ceiling and the *kumbha-kalaśa* part of the *vedībandha* also contain images. In its array of boldly executed figural imagery the temple seems to mark a ritual celebration with an extensive pantheon in watch. The figure work is exceptional in its narrative quality and style, reminiscent of the narrative reliefs and sculptures in the *raṅgamaṇḍapa* of Padhavali. The composition of its niches on the architraves is evocative of a similar, now empty, niche in north-eastern section of the Chandrehe *maṭha* (Pl. 56). The figures of Mātṛkās, Navagrahas, trident bearing *gaṇas*, Gandharvas, *vidyādharas*, devotees, dancers and musicians, besides those of the cult gods in different forms are exquisitely carved. Nevertheless, representations of *kaupīna*-wearing corpulent ascetics with matted locks, holding manuscripts or displaying their hands in different gestures are significant as a group and are carved with finesse not seen in the statuary of Siddhānta temples elsewhere in central India.



Pl. 57. Śiva temple, Chandrehe.

Chandrehe

Chronologically, the temple at Chandrehe (**Pl.** 57), dated *c.* 950 CE, comes next in the series of the surviving monastic temples related to Siddhanta sect. It faces west. In plan, it consists of axially aligned *mukhamaṇḍapa*, *antarāla* and *garbhagṛha*, like other temples of the class; but it is unique in having a circular *śikhara.* The temple stands on a high, extensive *jagatī* (now reconstructed) that facilitates circumambulation. The *pīṭha*, perched on the *jagatī*, has its lower course of *vedībandha* made of *khura*, *kumbha*, a *chādya*-like sharp moulding and a *kapota* made of a floral band. The upper course of the *vedībandha* consists of a *jāḍyakumbha* and *kapota* with a recess in between. The *garbhagṛha* and *antarāla* of the temple are built on the upper course of *pīṭha* but its *mukhamaṇḍapa* is set on its lower course and rises up with its vertical *rājasenaka* fillets until it aligns with the *kapota* of the upper course. It terminates in a plain *kapota*, surmounted by an *āsanapaṭṭa* and *kakṣāsana*. The *janghā* of the temple rises above the *kapota* moulding and had two staggered rows of sculptures—which have disappeared—horizontally separated from each other by a leafy band and topped by a *grāsapaṭṭikā*. The *janghā* ends in a *varaṇḍikā* that is composed of two ornate *kapota* mouldings that continue on the *kapilī* too. The *śikhara* rises over the *varaṇḍikā*. The usual *pañcaratha* disposition of temples and also the *veṇukośa* and *bhūmi*s on the *karṇa* stand renounced here. Instead, a *śikhara* of sixteen *latā-śreṇīs*—eleven around and five others covered at their base by a *śukanāsikā* on front—ascends vertically to terminate in a triangular terminus at the *skandha*. Above the *skandha* rise the *āmalasāraka*, *candrikā*, *āmalaka* and *ghaṭa*. The *kapilī* has a *śukanāsikā* perched above successive courses of *gajapīṭha* and *kakṣāna* mouldings, *ratnapaṭṭikā*, and a pair of *phāṃsana śikharikā* harbouring sculptures of divinities flanked by attendants."[30] The *sūrasenaka* of the *śukanāsikā* contains the 'head of Maheśamūrti.'[31] The

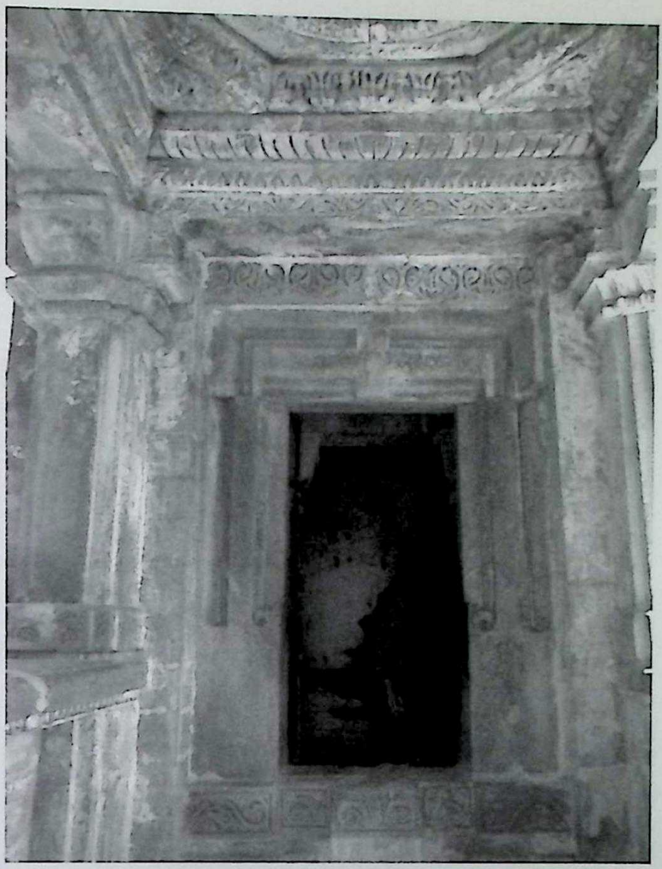
---

[30] Deva, Krishna (1998) "Kalacuris of Tripuri" in Dhaky, M.A. ed. *ETA: North India: Beginning of Medieval Idiom*, New Delhi: AIIS & IGNCA, p. 43.

[31] *Ibid.*

śikhara of the temple is circular in form and displays a pleasing ascent of ornamented *latā śreṇī*s.

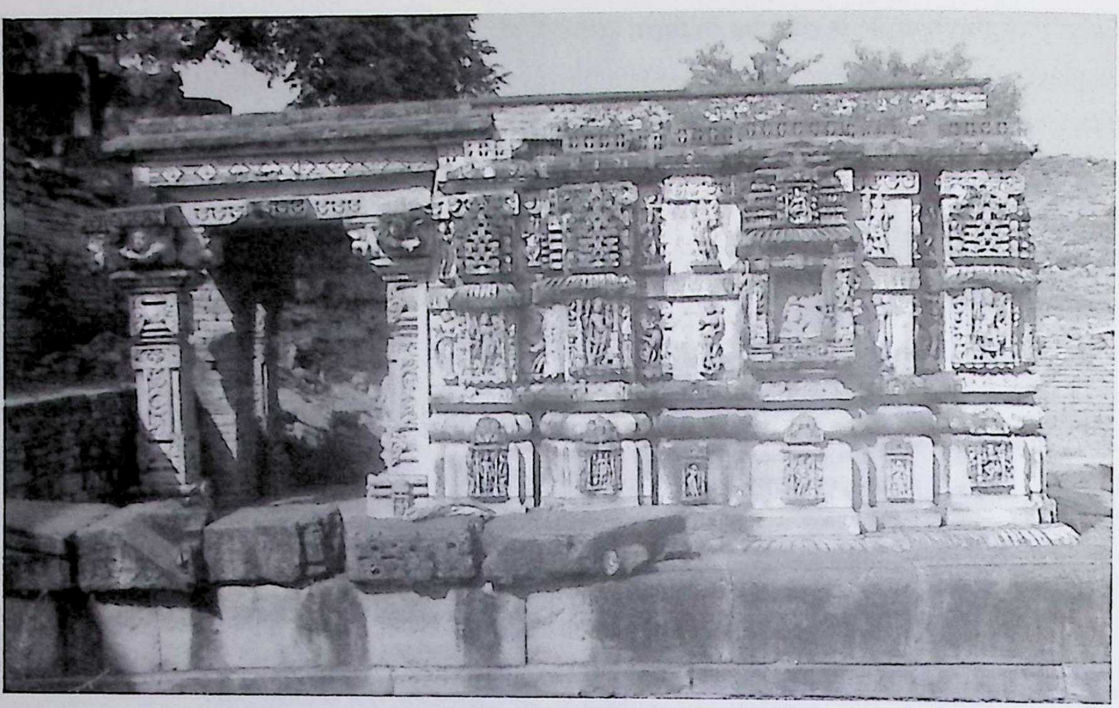
Entry into the temple is obtained by climbing a flight of steps from the *jagatī* to the *mukha maṇḍapa*. The open *mukha maṇḍapa* has two rows of two *bhadra* pillars terminating in two pilasters, all having ribbed capitals and brackets above, set on the *āsana*. It has a *vitāna* above and the doorway on the eastern end (Pl. 58). The *triśākha* doorway is plain, except for its *udumbara* carved with creepers and the architrave above the *uttaraṅga* carved with *tamālapatras*. Its *sākhā*s, *uttaraṅga*, *lalāṭa* and even the *peḍya*s are left un-sculpted which is unusual, especially as the doorway to the adjoining *maṭha* is sculpted in the conventional decorational scheme of temple doorways, with figures of Naṭeśa and Devīs. The doorway leads to the circular sanctum through a pilastered *antarāla* chamber. The sanctum has a Śiva *linga* on a *pīṭhikā* and is covered by a *vitāna* made of oversailing courses of masonry and capped by a plain stone piece.


Pl. 58. Doorway to the temple, Chandrehe.

The temple is unique in many ways, especially in its circular *śikhara* with sixteen *latā-śreṇī*s, its *śukanāsikā* with a *sūrasenaka*, its plain doorway unlike the sculpted ones of the accompanying *maṭha* and even in graffiti on its door announcing, as it were, the presence here of *jogi 700*, an obscure ascetic Order. Such graffiti occur also on a pillar of the *raṅgamaṇḍapa* at Padhavali and the two together seem to indicate that Siddhānta temples and monasteries attracted the ascetics of other Orders too.

KADWAHA

The monastic temple of Kadwaha, popularly known as the 'Garhi temple' (Pl. 59), is dedicated to Śiva. Facing west, it is situated to the north of the monastery and is built on a plan of axially aligned *maṇḍapa* and *garbhagṛha* with an *antarāla* between them. In these features, it emulates the other monastic temples of Terahi, Surwaya and Chandrehe that precede it in date. It conforms to a *dvi-aṅga* type of temple, built of *pīṭha*, *jaṅghā* and a plain roof without a *śikhara*. Its statuary, including the doorway carrying Naṭeśa on the *lalāṭa*, is predominantly



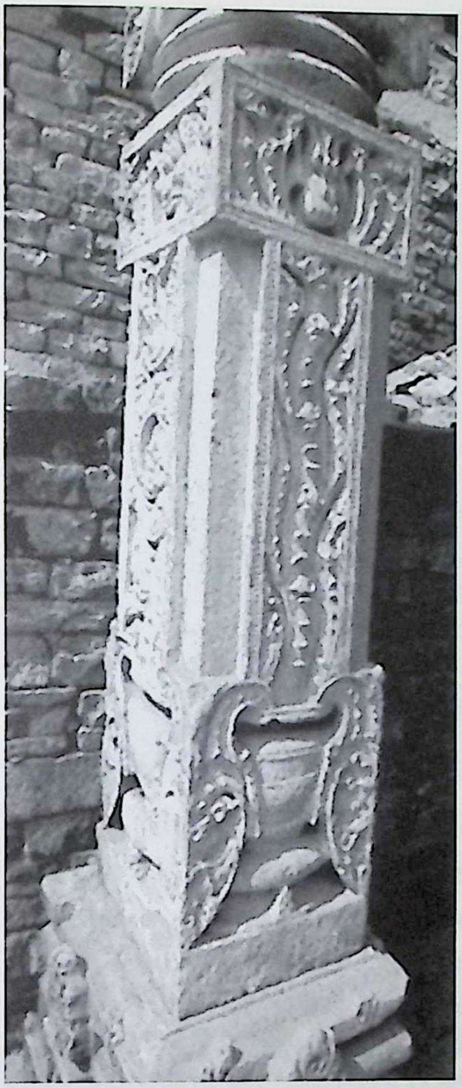
Pl. 59. Śiva temple, Garhi, Kadwaha.

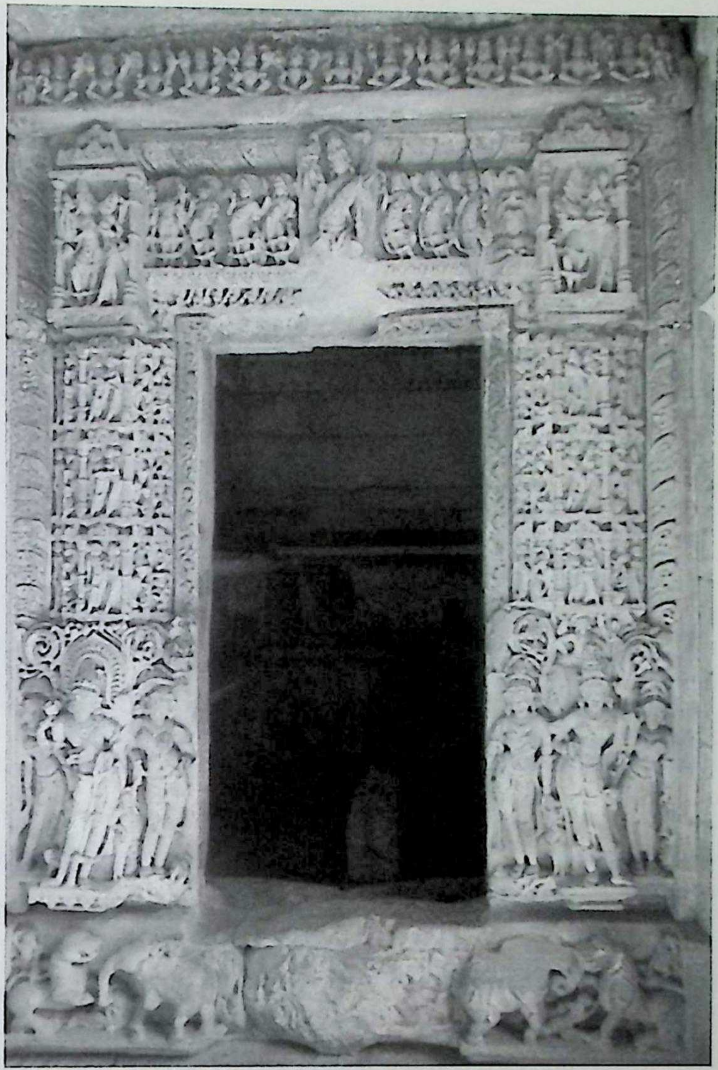
Śaivite. A lofty platform constructed to the west of the temple later, has obstructed entry into its open porch (*mukhamaṇḍapa*) from that side.[32]

This porch is built on two exquisitely ornate *bhadraka* pillars (**Pl. 60**) and two pilasters set on a stepped square base and having the *ghaṭa-pallava* device at the base and top. Unlike its prototype in the monastery, the *bhadra* projection on its shaft is decorated with luxuriant vegetal foliage and *kīrtimukha*, and at the top it has a ribbed square supporting *bhāravāhaka* figures that hold architraves sculpted with a *grāsapaṭṭikā* and *jālaka* frieze. The porch leads to the highly adorned *triśākha* doorway of the sanctum. It is composed of the usual elements, e.g., *udumbara*, Ganga (left) and Yamuna (right) with attendant figures on its base (*peḍya*), a *mithuna śākhā* flanked by *vyāla* and attendant figures, an inner foliated *latā* and another outer *tamālapatra śākhā*. The *uttaraṅga* has Naṭeśa in the centre, Brahmā-Sāvitrī and Lakṣmī Nārāyaṇa on terminals and *navagraha*s in the interspaces (**Pl. 61**). The architrave above has figures of twelve Ādityas which recall the doorway of the sanctum of the Śiva temple at Terahi. The flanks of the pilasters at the top in the porch have Umā Maheśvara (left) and seated Sarasvatī (right; **Pl. 62**). The *vitāna* (ceiling) of the porch has a triple *padma* motif, circular in shape, enclosed within two foliated concentric squares. The doorway leads to the sanctum containing a Nandi and a Śiva-*linga* on a *jalādhari pīṭha*. It also has shelves at two levels on all its sides; these shelves were apparently meant to hold ritual paraphernalia.

---

[32] Entering the porch one finds a thirteenth century inscription of thirty-two lines in praise of Jayantavarman and another inscription of 1316 CE referring to the restoration of a part of it by Bhūteśvara during the rule of Ala'uddin Khilji. For these records, cf, Singh, A.K., *Pragdhara* 10, pp. 230-231.

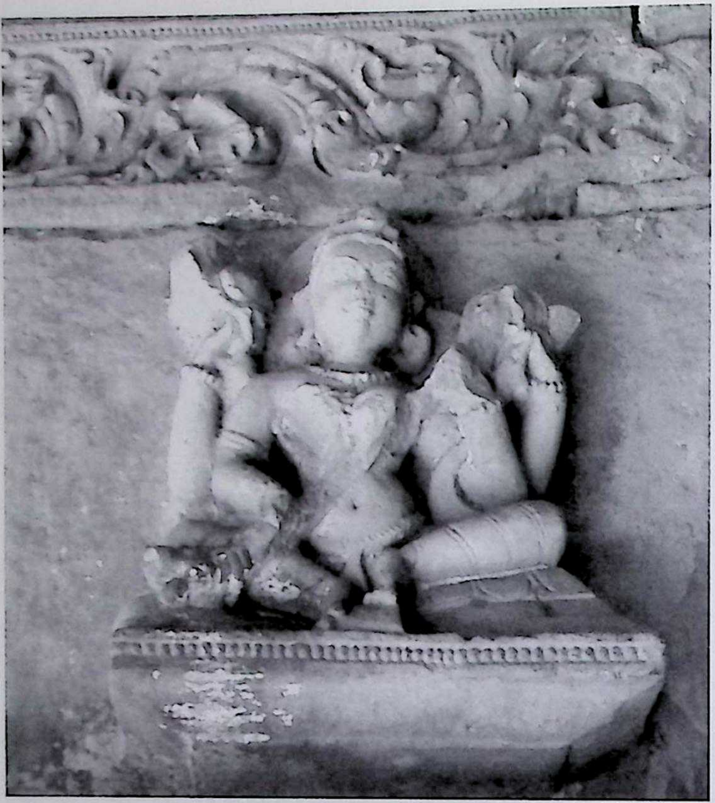


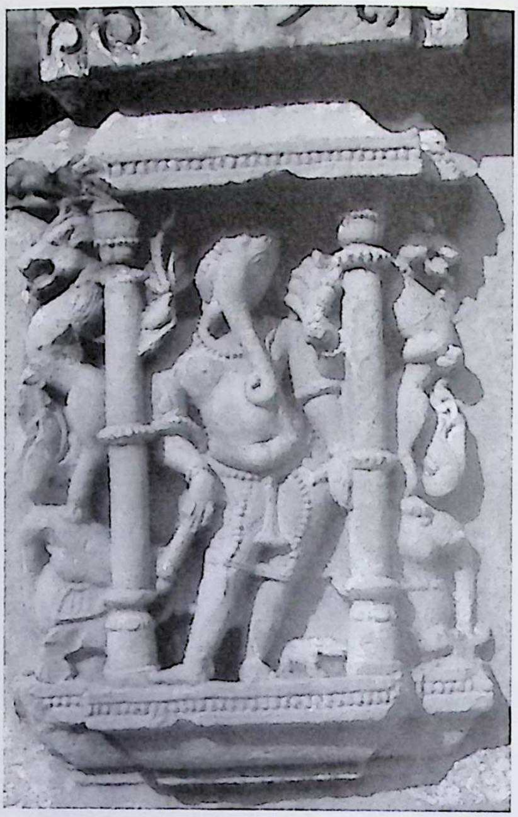


Left:
Pl. 60. *Mukhamaṇḍapa* pillar.

Right:
Pl. 61. Doorway with divinities and other figures, Garhi temple.

Externally, the temple is a *pañcaratha, dvi-aṅga vimāna*. It has a common *khura* and *padmapīṭha* for the *maṇḍapa, kapilī* and sanctum. Above the *padmapīṭha* rises the *vedībandha* made of bold *jāḍyakumbha* which ubiquitously carry divine figures in canopied niches. The *vedībandha* ends in a *kapota*. The *jaṅghā* rises above the *kapota* and it is divided in the *bhadra, anuratha* and *karṇa* sections with *salilāntara* between the *karṇa* and the *anuratha* and the *karṇa* and the *kapilī*. These contain *vyāla*s in the lower register and divine figures in the upper one. The *jaṅghā* has two rows of sculptures each topped by a band, the lower one carved with *tamālapatra*s and the upper with *grāsapaṭṭikā*. The lower row has the figures of *surasundarī*s in different poses on *pratiratha*s while the upper one has divine figures. The *karṇa*s have eight *dikpāla* figures set in their assigned locations. The niches carrying their images are topped by vertically rising *udgama*s which are



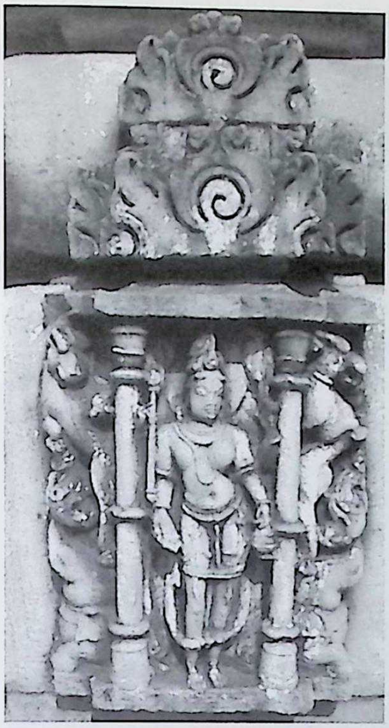


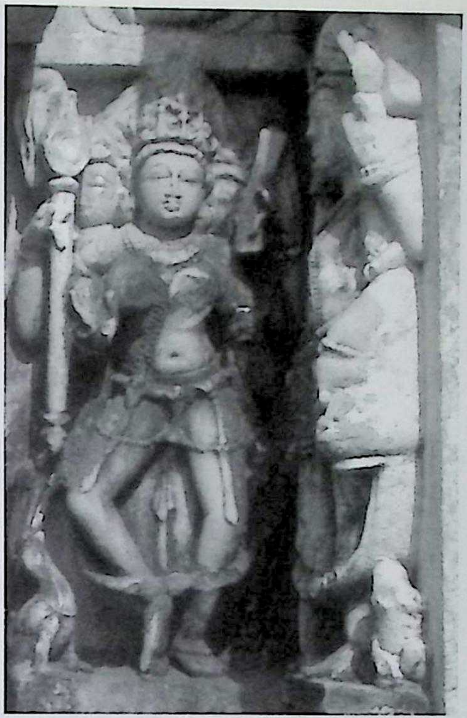
Left:
Pl. 62. Sarasvatī, *mukhamaṇḍapa*.

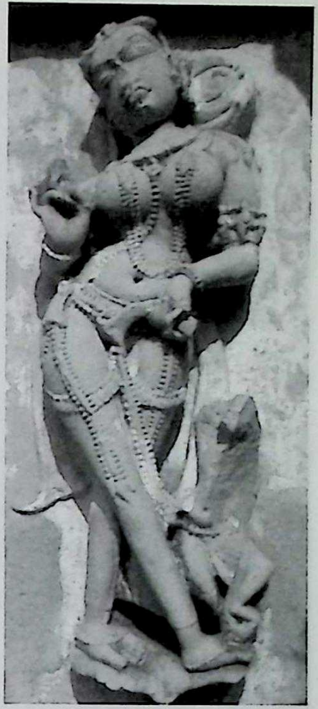
Right:
Pl. 63. Gaṇeśa, *vedībandha*, Garhi temple, Kadwaha.

repeated on the niches of the *kapilī* too where they are reduced in size. The *kapilī* niches in the south and north have Durgā. The *bhadra* part of the *jaṅghā* is elaborately carved with *devakoṣṭhas* carrying the images of Gaṇeśa (S) and Camuṇḍā (N). The image of the third *devakoṣṭha* (E) has disappeared. These *devakoṣṭhas* are composed of elaborate niches with *ghaṭa-pallava* pilasters on the sides and a *kūṭachādya* above containing miniature shrines with *triśākha* doorways, *udumbara*, *peḍya* and *uttaraṅga*, all sculpted with figures. Above the *kūṭachādya* rise the *udgamas* made of *phāṃsanā śikhara*. The *śukanasa* of these *phāṃsanā śikharas* carry miniature images of Mātṛkās. The *jaṅghā* terminates in a *grāsapaṭṭī* and the *varaṇḍika* above it carries only a *kapota* carved with a recessed *ratnaka* frieze.

Apart from the principal images on the *bhadra* and *karṇa* the temple has a wide range of other figures distributed all around its body on the *vedībandha*, the *pratiratha* and in *salilāntara* recesses. Thus, the *vedībandha* carries canopied niches with Durgā, Surya and Śiva (E), Kaumārī, Gaṇeśa (**Pl. 63**) and Surasundarī (S) with *ardhanārīśvara*-Śiva (**Pl. 64**) on the *kapilī vedībandha* (S) and Śiva, Durgā and Mātṛkā (N). The recesses on the *salilāntara* contain Gaṇeśa and Mātṛkās, including Brahmāṇī (**Pl. 65**), Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Māheśvarī, Aindrī and others. The *pratiratha* projections on the upper register of the *jaṅghā* carry figures of divinities and Śiva occurs there repeatedly. The lower register carries *surasundarīs* (**Pl. 66**) in a variety of







Left:
Pl. 64. Śiva-ardhanārīśvara.

Centre:
Pl. 65. Brahmāṇī.

Right:
Pl. 66. Surasundarī, Kadwaha.

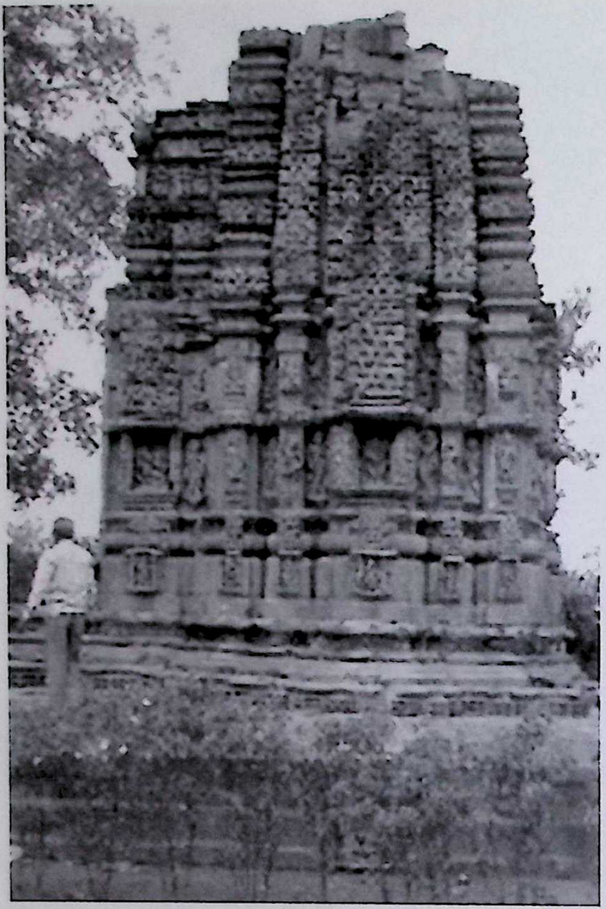
poses and also a mother and child in relief. The sides of the *bhadra* and *pratiratha* projections too have *surasundarīs*. The temple is remarkable for its statuary, which is predominantly Śaivite with Mātṛkās added to it.

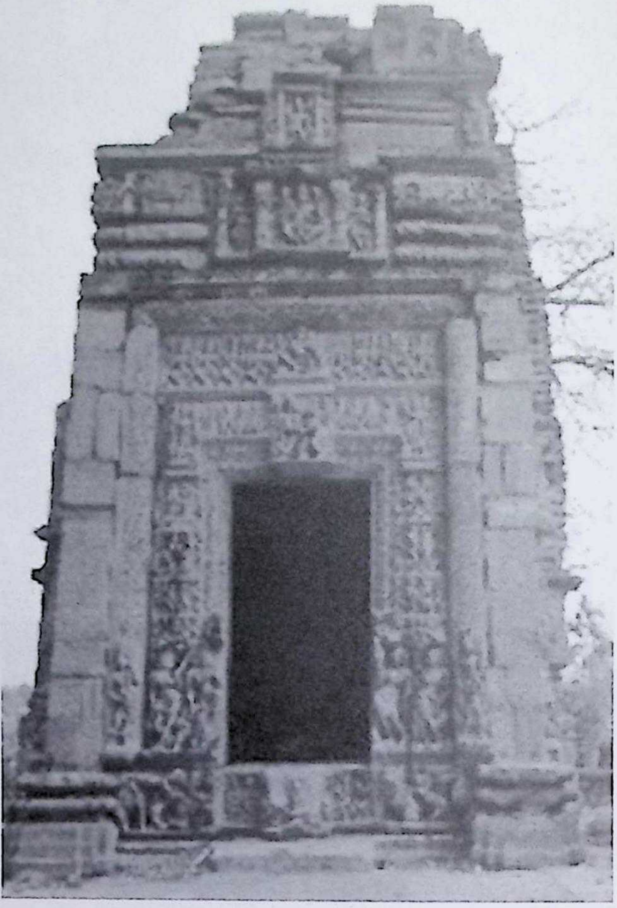
KODAL

The only other monastic temple in Ḍāhala besides Chandrehe is located at Kodal. Stylistically, it seems to be an early eleventh century work. It stands today as practically lost in the wilderness of its sylvan surroundings.[33] The *mukha-maṇḍapa* of the temple and also the upper part of its *śikhara* are missing. Dedicated to Śiva, this temple (Pl. 67) faces west and contains only the sanctum with an *antarāla* in front. Its *mukha-maṇḍapa*, when extant, was built on pillars and pilasters and the bases of its pilasters with stepped mouldings are still visible near the doorway. The temple stands on a low *jagatī* and the entry into its sanctum is through a richly sculpted doorway (Pl. 68) composed of *udumbara*, *dvāraśākhās*, *uttaraṅga* and a sculpted architrave above them. The *udumbara* carries *mandāraka* and pitcher-bearing figures in the centre and elephants and lions on the sides. The doorframe composed of five *śākhās* shows *ratnas*, bells, *nāga bandha*, *mithunas* with *vyālas* on the flanks and a luxuriant *padmalatā* marking the fifth *śākhā* encloses them in its sweep. The *peḍyas* have Ganga and Yamuna and their female attendants. The *uttaraṅga* has

---

[33] The temple could have been linked to ancient Tripuri (near Jabalpur), the capital of the Kalacuris, but there is no record available to shed light on its historical antecedents.



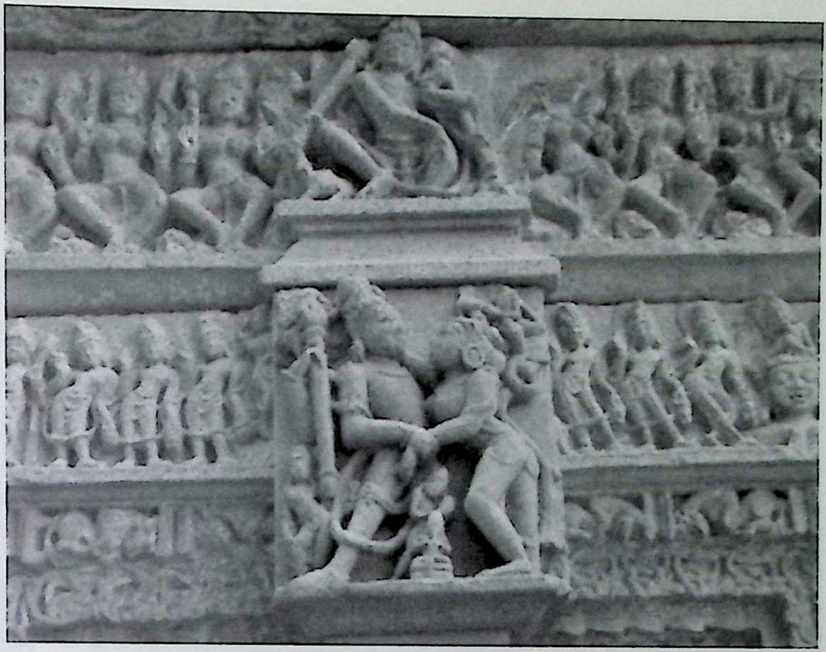


Left:
Pl. 67. Śiva temple, Kodal, view from south.

Right:
Pl. 68. Front view with doorway.

Kalyāṇasundara image (**Pl. 69**) in the centre and figures of *navagrahas* extended on both sides. The architrave above has Naṭeśa in the centre and seven Mātṛkās along with Vīrabhadra and Gaṇeśa. The doorway leads to the sanctum with pilasters in the corners and a Śiva*linga* in the centre.

Externally, this *tri-aṅga* temple is built on a *jagatī*, and is composed of *pīṭha* (with elaborate *vedībandha*), *janghā* and *śikhara*. The *jagatī* is embellished with canopied niches containing Śaivite images. The *pīṭha* is built of two courses: lower and upper. The lower one is constituted of a running band of *ratnapaṭṭikā*s and a recessed band of chequers with a *karṇikā* and *kumbha* below and *kapota* above. This lower course of the *pīṭha* served as a base for both *maṇḍapa* (missing now) and the sanctum. The upper course of the *vedībandha* is exclusive to the *vimāna* and *kapilī* and it is made of bold *jāḍyakumbha*, *antarapaṭṭa* and *kapota*. The *jāḍyakumbha* is remarkable for its pilastered and canopied niches containing divinities including Gaṇeśa, Kārttikeya, Mātṛkās, Śaivite *gaṇa*s and other figures. Its canopied niches recall similar adornment noticed at Kadwaha with the difference that *udgama*s on the niches here are more elevated. The *pīṭha* terminates in a *kapota*, surmounted by a *janghā* divided into the *bhadra* and *karṇa* with *pratiratha* projections between them.

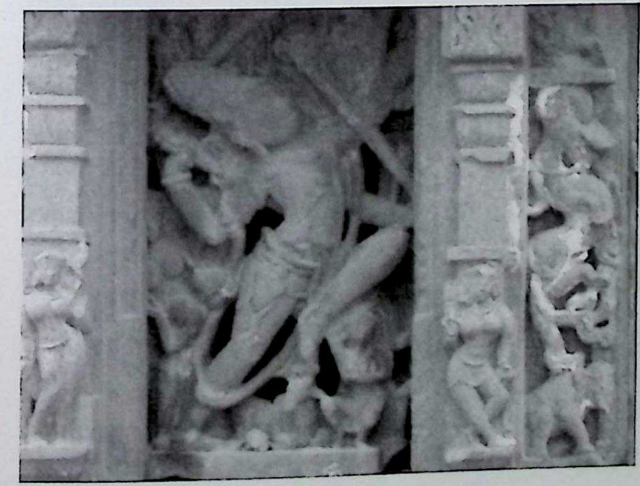


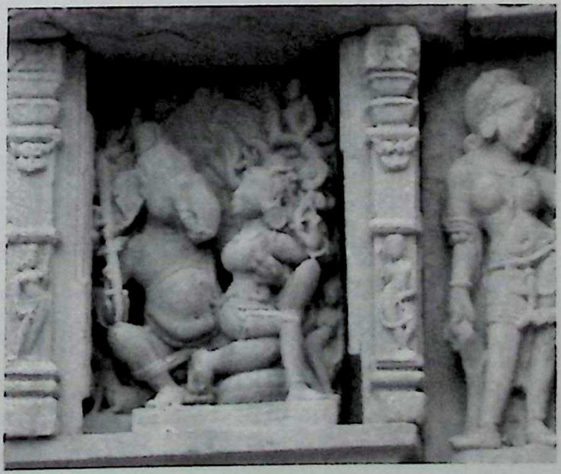
Pl. 69. Kalyāṇasundara, Naṭeśa and Mātṛkās on *uttaraṅga* and architrave, Śiva temple, Kodal.

The *janghā* of the *prāsāda* has two staggered rows of sculptures on its three sides with a band of *tamālapatras* separating them. The lower row has *dikpālas* on the *karṇas*, as was the convention; the *pratirathas* and *salilāntara* recesses have *surasundarīs*. The upper row has *vidyādhara*, Gandharva, Apsarasas and divinities on the *pratiratha* and *vyālas* in the recessed *salilāntara*. The *bhadras* on three sides contain elaborate *devakoṣṭhas* composed of pilasters on the sides, a *kūṭachādya* above surmounted by a tall *udgama* going upto the *śikhara*. These *devakoṣṭhas* have Naṭeśa (S) and Andhakāntaka-Śiva (E) (**Pl. 70**). The image on the third *devakoṣṭha* in the north is missing. The images in the *bhadra* and *kapilī devakoṣṭhas* and those on doorways exhibit greater finesse than others figures distributed around the body of the temple. The *kapilī* (S) has a seated figure of Vināyaka with his consort (**Pl. 71**); the corresponding image on the *kapilī* (N) is missing. Its *udgama* terminates at the *varaṇḍikā*, which is composed of a chequered band between the *kapotas*. Above it, the *śikhara* rises up with a central *latā* on the *bhadra* flanked by thin *latās* of *pratirathas* on its flanks and a *veṇukośa* with *bhūmis* on the *karṇa*. The

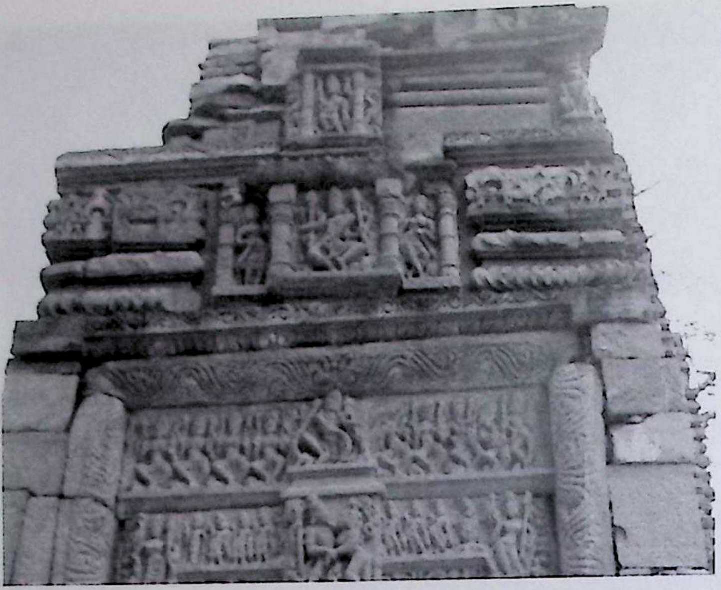
Left:
Pl. 70. Andhakāntaka-Śiva in *devakoṣṭha* (E) Śiva temple, Kodal.

Right:
Pl. 71. Vināyaka with consort on *kapilī* (S) niche, Śiva temple, Kodal.





bhūmis are marked by *āmalakas* and four such *bhūmis* are intact on the south face of the *śikhara*. The *śukanāsikā* of the *śikhara* has fallen away but what remains of it shows yet another figure of Naṭeśa flanked by two female attendants and a *gaṇa* (?) figure above it (**Pl. 72**). In these features, the Kodal temple returns to the conventional *ratha*(s) and *karṇa* division of the *śikhara* after the interlude of the innovative circular *śikhara* of *latā-śreṇī* at Chandrehe. In its elements of *jagatī*, *pīṭha*, *janghā* and *śikhara* and even in distribution of sculptures with Naṭeśa in the *bhadra*, the temple of Kodal bears similarity with that of Nohta, situated not very far.



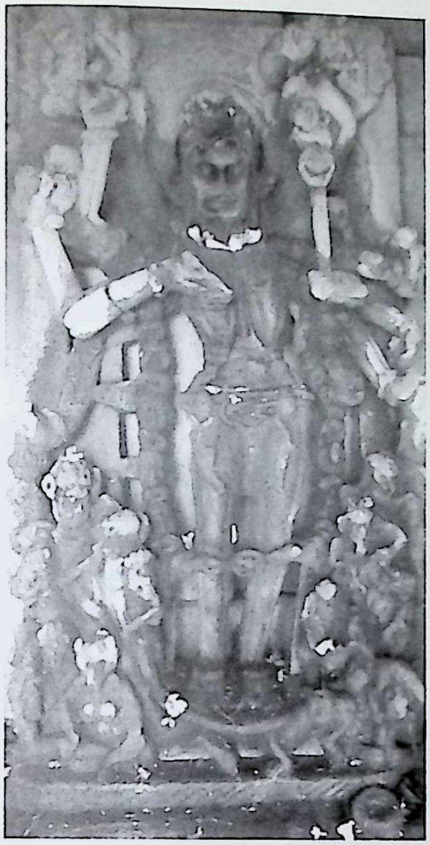
Pl. 72. Naṭeśa on *śukanāsikā*, Śiva temple, Kodal.

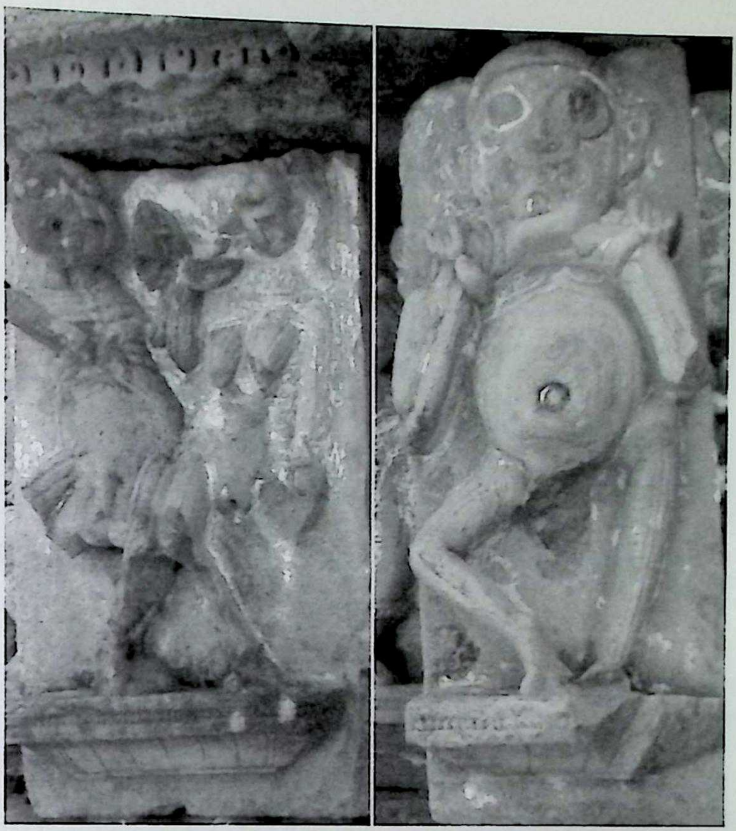
SCULPTURES

The description of monastic temple architecture above, in this chapter, has been restricted only to those instances where temple and monastery are still in existence together. Such co-existence prevailed at other places too where either the monastery or the temple are missing now. Such surviving monuments *sans* their missing counterparts are characteristically homologous to others, described above, where such combination remains; and there is little doubt about their unity as a group. Such a unity is reflected repeatedly in works at different temple sites, for instance, in the morphological similarity between Terahi's Śiva temple and Batesar's Bhuteshvara temple in their *śikharas* of double *veṇukośa* and in the depiction of ascetics on their *dvāraśākhās*; in regular occurrence of Kārttikeya, Umā, Gaṇeśa (and sometimes Sarasvatī too) in the statuary of different temples from the 7th to 11th century; in the presence of a *guhā* with temples at Naresar; in accommodation of Vaiṣṇavite figures time and again with those Śaivite; in the patently Siddhāntin Sadāśiva image from Naresar; in the occurrence of Cāmuṇḍā (with or without a host of her fearsome goblins) at Padhavali, Surwaya, Terahi, Kadwaha;[34] in Naṭeśa at Padhavali, Surwaya, Kadwaha, Chandrehe and Kodal; in the folk goddesses at Naresar, Bheraghat, and much more. Together, the unity seems to underscore the patronage of ascetics who as a common source were instrumental in bringing about such integration. Epigraphic data, morphological elements and iconography tend to affirm such conclusion about homology and patronage. Therefore, in reflecting on the Siddhānta-related

---

[34] Some of them, the Cāmuṇḍā (Mohajamata) temple of Terahi, for instance, are not covered in our description of monastic temple architecture.





Left:
Pl. 73. Cāmuṇḍā, Devi temple, Mahua.

Right:
Pl. 74. Goblins and banshees on *jaṅghā* of Cāmuṇḍā temple, Terahi.

monastic art of particular sites discussed above, we may profitably draw parallels in figural work with other homologous sites that have been covered in our discussions.[35]

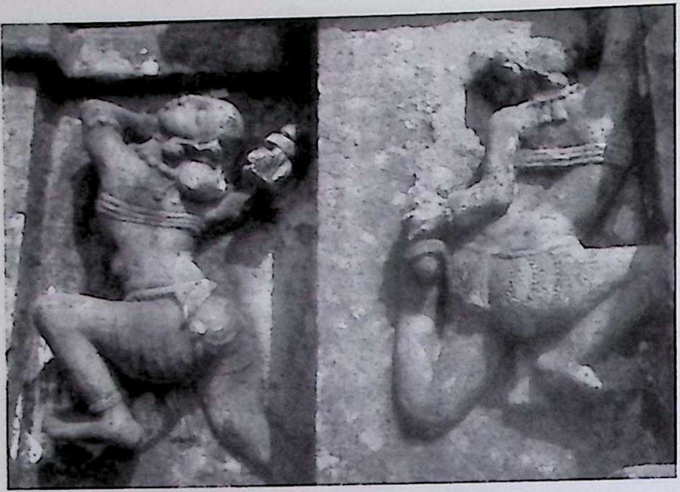
This discussion on monastic art attempts to cumulatively review sculptures underscoring the blending of both popular and hieratic trends in their configuration, the blending that was apparently facilitated by the overarching patronage of the Siddhanta ascetics. In that intermingling the unusual Gopācala Mātṛkās from Naresar and elsewhere are found in company of the conventional ones like *dikpālikā*s and others.[36] Similar images, specially the Yoginī figures of *Śrī* Erūḍī, *Śrī* Ṣaṇḍinī, *Śrī* Aḥkhalā, *Śrī* Auḍārā, *Śrī* Ṭakarī, *Śrī* Ṭhāṇī, *Śrī* Laṃpaṭā, *Śrī* Ṭhākinī, *Śrī* Ḍuḍūrī among others at Bheraghat,[37] likewise tend to underscore that intermingling and coalescence. Cāmuṇḍā (**Pl.73**), goblins (*preta*) and banshees (*pretanī*) (**Pl. 74**) in eerie detail (Padhavali, Terahi) add further colour to such configurations.

---

[35] We have not gone into the details of the temple architecture in the Gopacala and Ḍāhala regions as the subject has been comprehensively covered in the works of Willis (1997), Trivedi (1990), Deva, Krishna (1995) and others including Meister, Dhaky and Krishna Deva in the *ETA*.

[36] *Infra*, pp. 182-187.

[37] Sharma, R.K. (1978): 46-47.



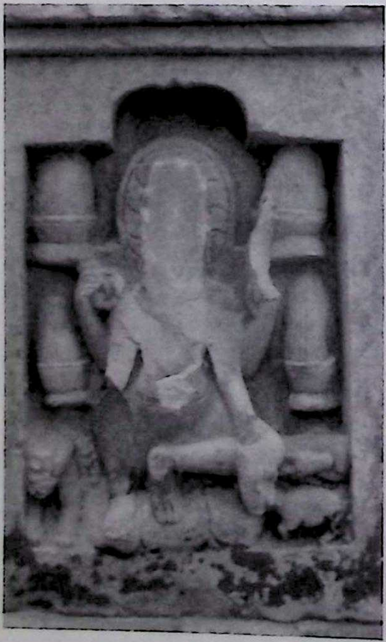
Pl. 75. Female warriors, on a temple in Marghat locality, Kadwaha.

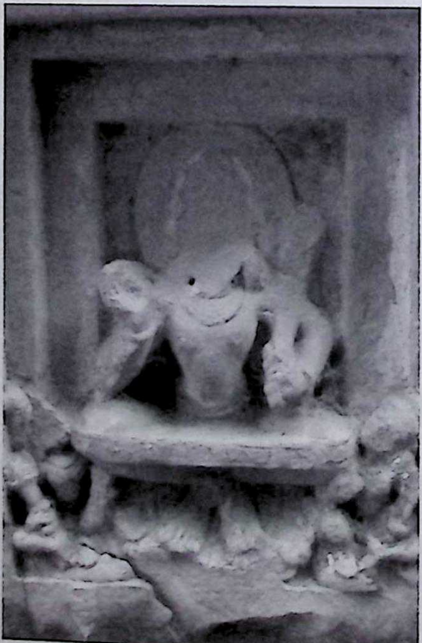
Significantly, this art does not hesitate in idealising and celebrating militancy either, with motifs that delineate female warriors in combative posture (**Pl. 75**), or battle-charged warriors in murderous assaults, riding horses and elephants, wielding weapons like the bow and arrow, sword, shield and lance (**Pl. 1**). These warlike figures are fancifully configured with 'high' gods, goddesses and ascetics. Such depictions might probably reflect the ascetics' attempt to accommodate *āṭavika* sensibilities within a wider sacred pantheon and integrate the community by fancifully coalescing the two parallel traditions, folk and hieratic, Sanskritic and non-Sanskritic at the same level. The phenomenon of coalescence may perhaps help in explaining the presence of uncommon, even bizarre sculptures that 'adorn' the Cāmuṇḍā temple of Terahi. Such figures are not found in statuary elsewhere but are prominently displayed at Terahi in Gopācala. The art and iconography in the region is also replete with penance-related ideals which are best seen in the images of Pārvati performing penance by five fires (*pañcāgni*) (**Pl. 76**), Lakulīśa alone (**Pl. 77**) or with his four disciples, the latter on Teli ka Mandir (Gwalior), Brahmā seated with a *yogapaṭṭa* tied around knees (**Pl. 78**), Surwaya ascetics with a *śruvā*, 'sacrificial ladle' (**Pl. 79**) or flute

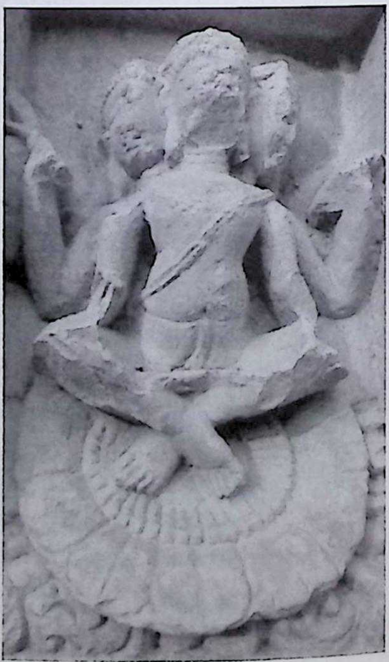
Left:
Pl. 76. Parvati by 5 fires, Naresar.

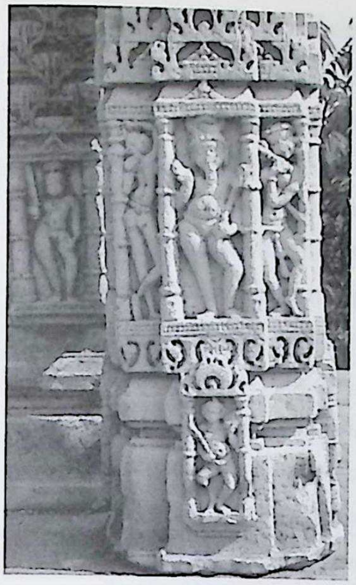
Centre:
Pl. 77. Lakulīśa, Gwalior.

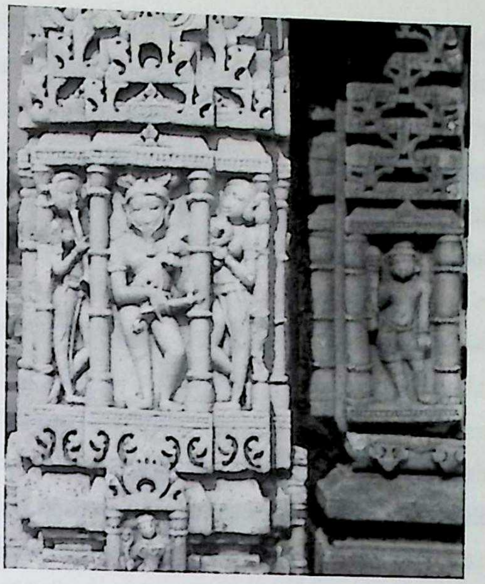
Right:
Pl. 78. Brahmā, Gwalior.

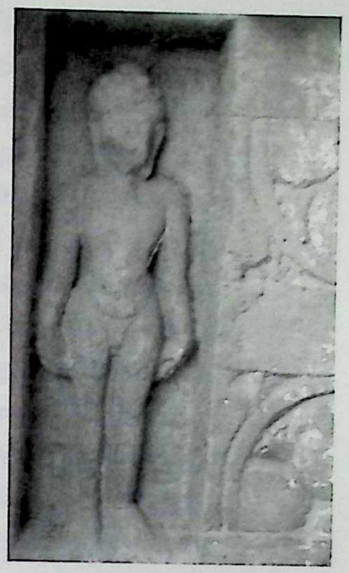












Left:
Pl. 79. Ascetic with sacrificial ladle, Surwaya (*sarvatobhadra* shrine).

Centre:
Pl. 80. Ascetic with a flute and flower, Surwaya (*sarvatobhadra* shrine).

Right:
Pl. 81. Jina in *kāyotsarga mudrā*, Teli ka mandir, Gwalior.

and flowers (manuscript ?) in hand (**Pl. 80**), even a Jina in *kāyotsarga mudrā* (**Pl. 81**) on the Navadurgā temple (Teli ka Mandir) at Gwalior.

The temporal sanction for Śaivite themes in statuary seems embedded in the inscriptions from Gopācala and Ḍāhala region. Most of these inscriptions relate to Siddhānta Śaivism. The Mahua record of the seventh century invokes Dhūrjaṭī-Śiva and is scripted in a typical Siddhānta mode.[38] Similarly, the Senkapat inscription invokes Śiva as Bhava[39] besides his consort Pārvatī.[40] The Vāyillabhaṭṭasvāmin inscription of 876 CE from Gwalior begins with invoking Viṣṇu but it goes on to mention the temple dedicated to Navadurgās. Among the nine Durgās it laconically refers to only three of them, namely Rudrā, Rudrāṇi and Pūrṇāsa with *ādi* (*etcetera*) added parenthetically to the names.[41] These names seem to represent some obscure tradition as in textual sources other names, instead of these, find mention. The Ranod inscription of Vyomaśiva starts with the Śiva *mantra*: *oṃ namaḥ śivāya*, and in the first five verses of benediction (*maṅgala*) it invokes Vināyaka, the pleasant and cheerful Sarasvatī of the 'manifest-unmanifest' (*vyaktāvyakta*) form and Śiva as Śambhu. Śiva in it is the 'conqueror of three cities (*Tripura-vijayī*), which recalls his Tripurāntaka image. His dancing (*lāsya*) form is poetically described in his action of planting one of his feet firmly on the trembling earth while the other foot, raised in its stride pervades the sky and its *graha*s, even as the Kailāsa shakes and the commotion torments gods and demons. This tenth century epigraph also record that Vyomaśiva built a temple that contained (the images of) Śiva with his consort (Śivayugma), Umā *devī*, Naṭyeśvara and Vināyaka.[42] The Gwalior Museum epigraph of his disciple Pataṅgaśambhu similarly opens with the Śiva *mantra* and refers to Gaṇeśa, Sarasvatī and Śiva in its benedictory (*maṅgala*) verses.[43] Its description of Śiva with a 'crescent on the matted locks' (v. 35) is illustrative in its poetic imagery. Śiva-Tripurāntaka is recalled in a Kadwaha record.[44] Gopācala inscriptions also mention Mahāruṇḍā and Āmralohitā signifying assimilation of local cults of female deities within the Śaivite pantheon.[45]

---

[38] *Supra*, p. 40, fn. 25 and p. 122.

[39] He is one of the eight Rudras, the others being Śarva, Īśāna, Rudra, Ugra, Bhīma, Paśupati and Mahādeva. Śarva is mentioned in the Chandrehe inscription in Mirashi (1955: 200, v.1). The Agamic, Puranic and *śilpa* texts mention eleven Rudras but their names in those lists are different. Cf., Mani, Vettam (2010): 654. For the eleven Rudras in *śilpa* texts, see: Dubey, Lal Mani (1987): 291.

[40] *E.I.* 31, p. 35, vv.1-2.

[41] *Supra*, p. 153, fn. 8.

The inscriptions from Ḍāhala too are replete with references to different iconographic forms of Śiva. The details follow, concentrating on the epigraphs that were engraved following the emergence of Siddhānta ascetics in the region in the first quarter of the tenth century. A temple dedicated to Śankaranārāyaṇa is mentioned in the Baragaon inscription of a Śabara chieftain, which opens with the Śiva *mantra*.[46] It probably invokes the Harihara form of Śiva. The three gods (*trideva*) namely Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva are invoked in the Rewa Stone inscription of Vijayasiṃha.[47] The Chandrehe inscription engraved on the local monastery graphically describes Śiva in his different forms. He is three-eyed Śarva (one of the Rudras), wearing a garland of skulls, a crescent on his crest, Ganga on his matted locks and *nāga*s on his body. He is Gajāntaka 'clad in an elephant skin'; and he is Naṭeśa skilled in the *cārī* steps, dancing in *tāṇḍava* on the beats of a *ḍamarū*.[48] The Bilhari inscription[49]offers prayers to Śambhu of the matted locks bearing Mandākinī like a white umbrella and the *uragapati*

---

42. *E.I.* 1, pp. 354-355, 357, vv. 1-5, 44. Of these divinities Vināyaka besides Umā and Kārttikeya figure almost invariably in the Gopācala temples, especially in their early phase. All these divinities with Naṭeśa and Sarasvatī are depicted at Chandrehe, Kadwaha and elsewhere on the temples of Gopācala and Ḍāhala regions.
43. Mirashi (1972): 178-182, vv. 1-4, 27-28, 38-40. The damaged first verse probably invoked Gaṇeśa; we have a reference to *saṇmukhaśikhin* too in the verse 4. Pataṅgaśambhu built a Śiva temple (*haramandira*/*devakula*).
44. *E.I.* 37, p. 123, v. 17. It compares the ascetic with Śiva-Tripurāntaka. The exploits of Kīrtiśiva, a Siddhānta ascetic, are similarly described in the Jabalpur Stone inscription of Jayasiṃha. Cf., Mirashi (1955): 355, v. 23.
45. *E.I.*, 32, p. 341; *E.I*, 30, v. 2. Sircar suggest that Mahāruṇḍā, meaning 'headless trunk', could be connected to the Chinnamastā aspect of goddess. The *maṅgala* verse on Mahāruṇḍā in the inscription reads: *yā smṛtāpi satāṃ hanti manovāk-kāyasambhavaṃ/aghaṃ sā tridaśairvandyā mahāruṇḍā punātu vaḥ*. Mahāruṇḍā is mentioned in another inscription too in *E.I.*, 33, p. 3, text line 4. Cf., Sircar in *E.I.*, 32, p. 340, fn. 2.
46. Mirashi (1955): 198.
47. *Ibid*, p. 355, v. 42.
48. *Ibid*, p. 200, vv. 1-3.
49. *Ibid*, p. 215-216.

(*nāga*) coiled tightly to the god's body (v.1). He is mentioned as Candracūḍa (moon-crested) and has the resplendent third eye (v.2). Śarva is invoked in company with his dice playing consort (Pārvatī) as well as the child Kārttikeya who both target the crescent in their playful fancy (v.3). The record also configures Śiva in his *tāṇḍava* dance, in his Tripurāntaka exploit (v. 4) and his Rāvaṇa *anugraha* episode (v.9). The Rāvaṇa episode along with the Gangādhara aspect of Śiva is recalled in the Gurgi inscription.[50] Inscriptions of Karṇa and some of his successors are, however, different in that they have the *maṅgala* verses addressed to the *brahman*, the *sat* ('reality'), that is "attribute-less, all-pervasive, eternal and auspicious, the ultimate cause of the universe, supreme light conceivable by the mind...that appears in two forms".[51] The 'two forms' signify the male and the female as in the *Manusmṛti* (1.5.52): *dvidhā kṛtvātmano dehadharmeṇa puruṣo'bhavat/ardhena nārī...*[52]. The inscription under reference indeed opens with the Śiva *mantra*. 'Maheśvara with Uma' and 'Lakṣmī together with Nārāyaṇa' are mentioned in the Rewa Stone inscription of Karṇa, dated in 1061 CE.[53] Śiva's *aṣṭamūrti* figures in a record of Gayākarṇa.[54] A *maṅgala* verse in the Bheraghat record of Narasiṃhadeva (1155 CE) punningly refers to both Śiva and Kārttikeya, invoking the former's moon-crested, dancing, blue-necked form dear to spear-wielding (folk) even as, in pun, it refers to spear-wielding Kārttikeya and his dancing peacock which has its tail decorated with moon-like spots.[55] It also invokes Gaṇapati and Sarasvatī,[56] thus reverting to the earlier convention noticed in the inscriptions of Gopācala. Śiva mounted on a bull (*vṛṣapratiṣṭha*) figures in the Jabalpur Stone inscription of Jayasiṃha.[57] Gaṇapati figures as Heramba in the Rewa Plates of Jayasiṃha.[58] Śiva, as *tripurāntaka* (*tripuradahana samarthaḥ*) and as the consort of Pārvatī (*girisutā vallabha*), besides Gaṇapati, Kṛṣṇa and Sarasvatī are invoked in the Dhureti plates.[59]

The details above may be chronologically resolved into two phases, the first (7th to 9th century) in Gopācala and the second (10th to 12th century) in Gopācala and Ḍāhala. The first phase relates to the statuary at Mahua, Batesar, Naresar, Surwaya (*sarvatobhadra* shrine on the roof of the *maṭha*), and at the Navadurgā (Teli ka mandir) temple[60] of Gwalior and Śiva temple of Terahi.[61] During this phase, ascetics were independent of royal patronage, which descended upon them uninvited, but not before Purandara (*c.* 825 CE).[62] The second phase covers Surwaya, Padhavali, Terahi (Cāmuṇḍā temple, locally known as 'Mohaja Mata'), Kadwaha, Chandrehe, Kodal, Tripuri-Bheraghat tract and the late phase of Naresar. The first phase starts at Mahua (Dhūrjaṭī *maṇḍapikā*) and peaks with the Navadurgā (Teli ka mandir) at Gwalior. The second phase is prolific in statuary but evidence *in situ* becomes comparatively scarce by early eleventh century. Some of the re-located works, the Sadāśiva image from Naresar and Śaivite images in the Rani Durgavati Museum of Jabalpur, for instance, do compel attention. The details of statuary follow, in brief, below, divided into two phases.

---

[50] *Ibid*, pp. 230-231.

[51] *Ibid*, pp. 245-246.

[52] This is how Mirashi (1955: 245, fn. 13) interprets it. If acceptable, the reference may point to the Ardhanārīśvara Śiva.

[53] Mirashi (1955): 284, vv. 20, 13.

[54] *Ibid*, p. 306, v.1. The record refers to the Pāśupata ascetic Bhāvabrahma and his works.

[55] *Ibid*, p.318, v. 4, fn. 4.

[56] *Ibid*, p.318, vv. 5, 6.

[57] *Ibid*, p.334, v. 2.

[58] He is described with his contradictions as 'joyless and joyful, handsome and deformed, unimpeded and obstructing, the lord of Gaṇas'. *Ibid*, p.343, v. 1.

[59] *Ibid*, p. 371, vv. 1-3.

[60] *Supra*, p. 153, fn. 8. An inscription from Gwalior (*E.I.*, 1, p.160, translation) refers to the Navadurgā temple of 876 CE built on the "other side of the Vṛścikalā River". We think that it suvives now as Teli

FIGURAL IMAGERY

THE FIRST PHASE (7th TO 9th CENTURY)

This phase begins at Mahua with the Dhūrjaṭī *maṇḍapikā*. Its statuary, though scant, is striking in its expressive representations of Gaṇeśa, Mahiṣamarddinī (**Pl. 82**) and Varāha. Varāha does not seem uncharacteristic here amidst other Śaivite figures because non-Śaivite motifs were not tabooed in Siddhānta temples in central India. This Mahua trinity of divinities was soon replaced by the standard Gopācala trinity of Umā (seated or standing (**Pl. 83**), performing the *pañcāgni* penance), Gaṇeśa (**Pl. 84**) and Kārttikeya (**Pl. 85**), and it is predominant at Naresar, Batesar, Amrol, Terahi (Śiva temple) and elsewhere. The temples of the first phase evince a limited repertory of sculptures unlike the profusion seen on temples of the second phase. Such predilection is apparent in the early works, as at Naresar, Batesar, Gwalior and elsewhere. The temples at Naresar carry the Gopācala trinity in the niches of the *janghā* and Lakulīśa is represented either in a *devakulikā* or on the *gavākṣa* of *śukanāsikā*. He is shown with a *yogapaṭṭa* around his knees and a staff (*lakula*) in the left hand.[63] Lakulīśa belonged to the Pāśupata sect and seems to have received sanction in the Siddhānta Order fairly early.

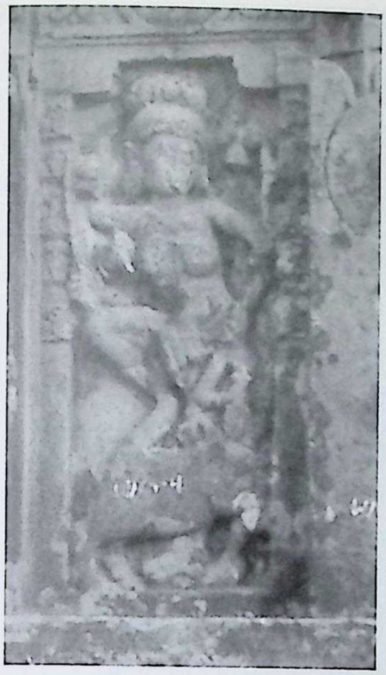
---

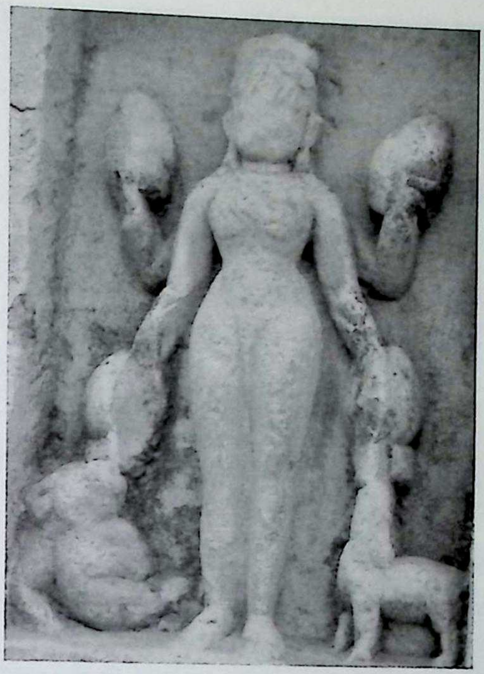
ka mandir (Gwalior) dedicated to Navadurga as it is a *valabhī* type with a rectangular plan devised to accommodate nine Durgā figures in the sanctum in a row. The female Pratiharīs on doorjambs of the sanctum and a Devī image in the niche of *udgama* above the *bhadra*'s *devakoṣṭha* (N), point towards the same conclusion. The epigraphic proof about installation of a fierce Goddess image (cf., Krishna Deva 1985, in Asher and Gai (ed) *Indian Epigraphy*, Delhi: Oxford and IBH, p. 161, inscription 4) in the *devakoṣṭha* on the *kapilī* (N) also goes to indicate its identity as a temple dedicated to Navadurgas. We may thus conclude that Teli-ka-Mandir is indeed the Navadurgā temple mentioned in a Gwalior inscription of 876 CE. Cf. Misra, Ramanath (2008) *Bharatiya murtikala ka itihasa* (in Hindi), Delhi: Granthshilpi, pp.207-209

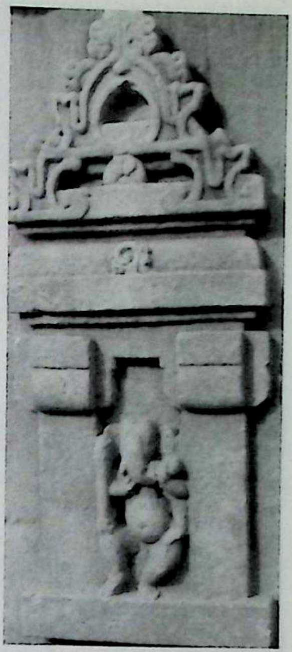
[61] For many other temples and their statuary, cf. Trivedi, R.D. (1990): 28-44.

[62] The surrogacy of the Kalacuri rulers to ascetics became the order from the time of the Kalacuri Yuvarājadeva I. After him, the Kalacuri rulers in succession submitted to the successive ascetics of the Mattamayūra-Madhumatī lineage who were their preceptors (*gurus*).

[63] For Lakulīśa (*lakuṭapāṇīśa*, 'lord with a club in his hand'), cf, Banerjea, J.N. (1974): 480-481. Also Pathak, V.S. (1960): 7-19.







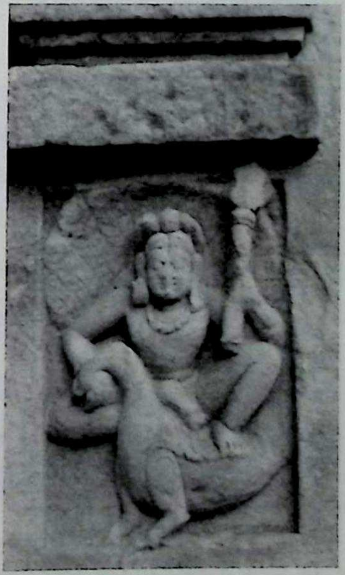
Left:
Pl. 82. Mahiṣamarddinī, Dhūrjaṭī *maṇḍapikā*, Mahua.

Centre:
Pl. 83. Umā, Naresar.

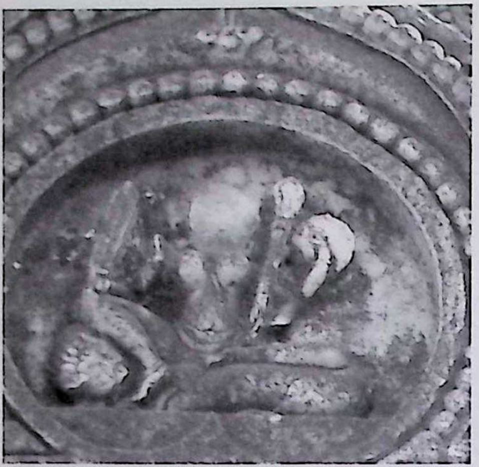
Right:
Pl. 84. Gaṇeśa, Batesar.

The *gavākṣa* on *śukanāsikā* of the temples at Naresar sometimes carry four-armed Durgā with a lion as her mount (**Pl. 86**). She is represented on the *śukanāsikā* of the rectangular *devī* temple (No.20) at Naresar that has a *valabhī śikhara*. The temple has Sūrya and Viṣṇu besides Gaṇesa and Umā in the *devakulikā*s of *janghā*. Naresar Temple 17 depicts Kubera (**Pl. 87**), Vīṇādhara Śiva (**Pl. 88**) and Śiva seated on Nandī.

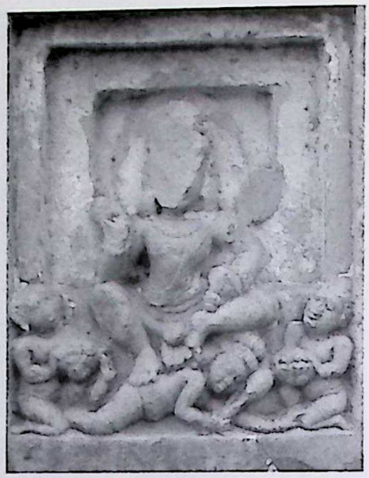
Amrol (Āmardakatīrtha), the seat of Rudraśambhu elaborates on the figural programme that had taken roots in the preceding temples. Thus, the Rameshvara Mahadeva temple here emulates the Gopācala trinity of Gaṇeśa, Kārttikeya and Pārvatī in penance (her image is mutilated), besides *gaṇa* and *dikpāla*s (Yama, Agni and Īśāna) on the *karṇa* and *kapilī* walls, in addition. The *dikpāla*s proliferate further on the *janghā* of the local Danebaba temple, which has the figures of Vāyu and Īśāna (N), Indra and Sūrya (E), and Agni and Yama (S). Sūrya is an exception. Near Naresar, the Bhuteshvara temple of Batesar also repeats figural representation of the Gopācala Trinity besides having *dikpāla*s on the *janghā* and Viṣṇu and Brahmā on the *kapilī* walls. The *tulā-pīṭhas* on its *varaṇḍikā* are conspicuous in depicting horse and elephant riders and figures of wild tigers, elephant, monkey, boar, fish and *makara* (**Pl. 89**). These representations seem to draw inspiration from the local fauna, adapted as the subject for temple reliefs. Batesar also has Kalyāṇasundara-Śiva (**Pl. 90**), Naṭeśa and Rudra-Ekapāda (**Pl. 91**),



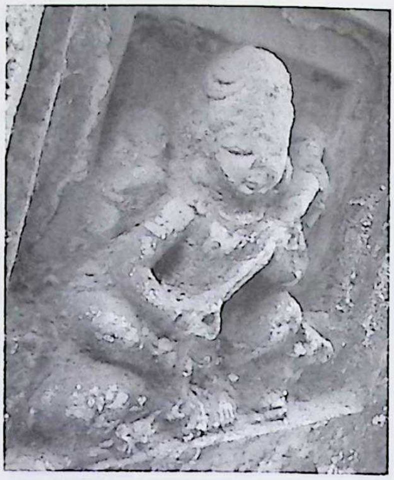
Pl. 85. Kārttikeya, Batesar.



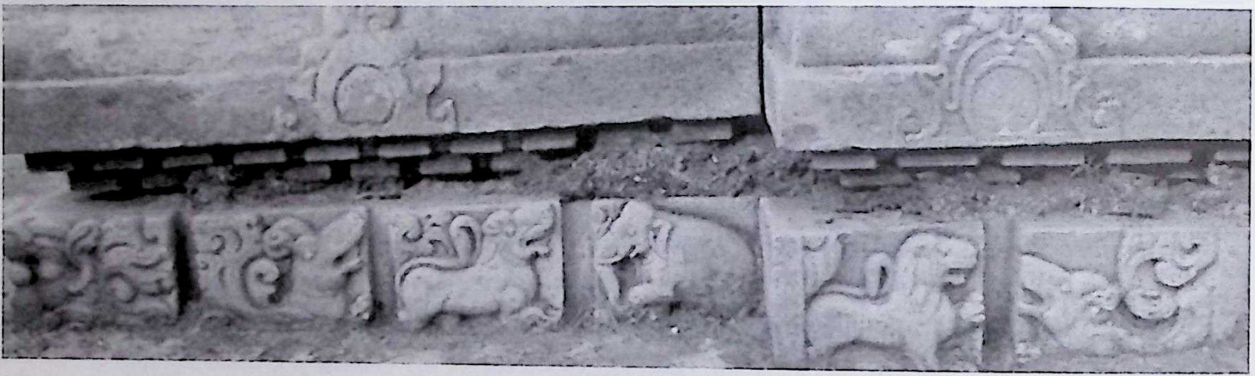
Pl. 86. Durgā on her lion, Naresar.



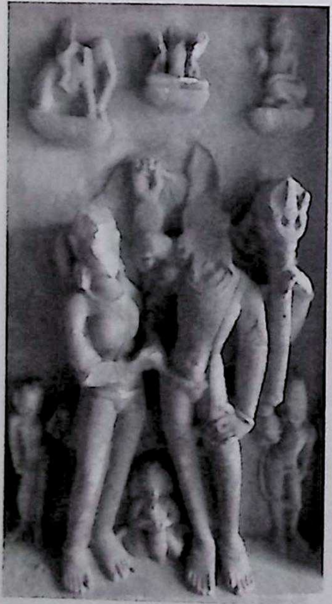
Pl. 87. Kubera, Naresar (Temple 17).



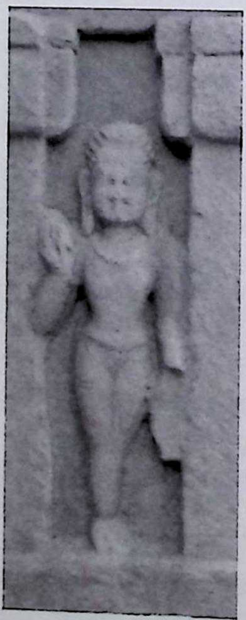
Pl. 88. Vīṇādhara Śiva, Naresar (Temple 17).



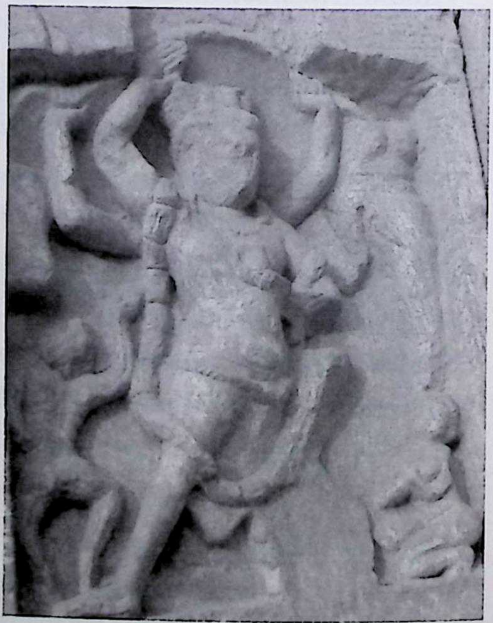
Pl. 89. Details of fauna on *tulā-pīṭhas* of *varaṇḍikā*, Bhuteshvara temple, Batesar.



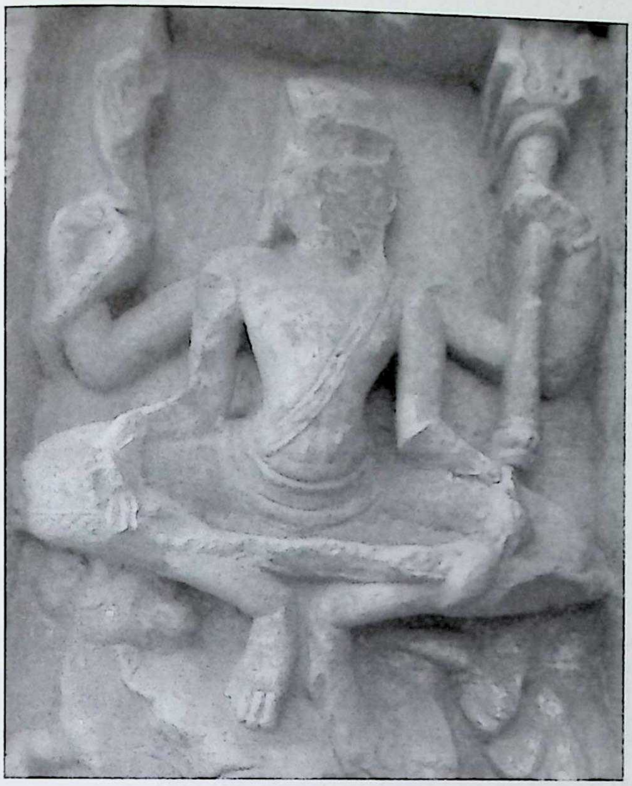
Pl. 90. Kalyāṇasundara-Śiva, Batesar.

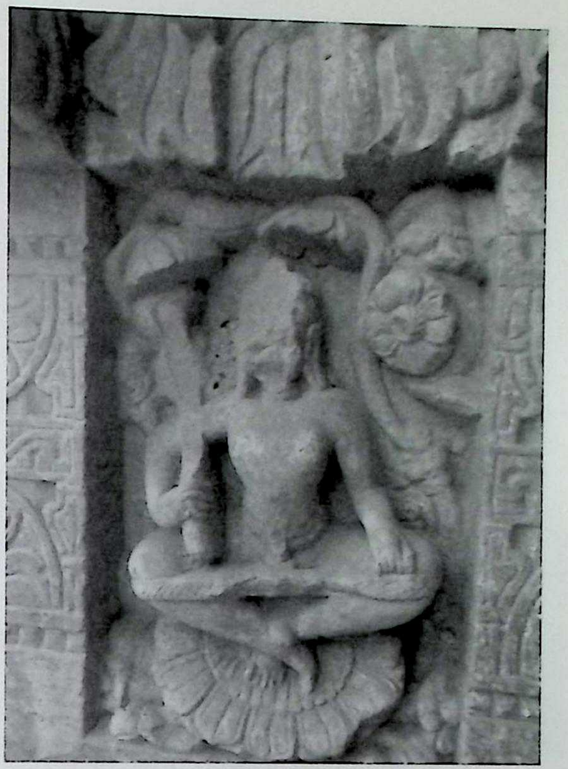


Pl. 91. Rudra-*Ekapāda*, Batesar.



Pl. 92. Gajāntaka- Śiva, Navadurgā temple (Teli ka mandir), Gwalior.





Left:
Pl. 93. Four-armed Śiva.

Right:
Pl. 94. Lakulīśa, Navadurgā temple (Teli ka mandir), Gwalior.

the last on the *janghā* of a small shrine adjacent to the Bhuteshvara temple.[64]

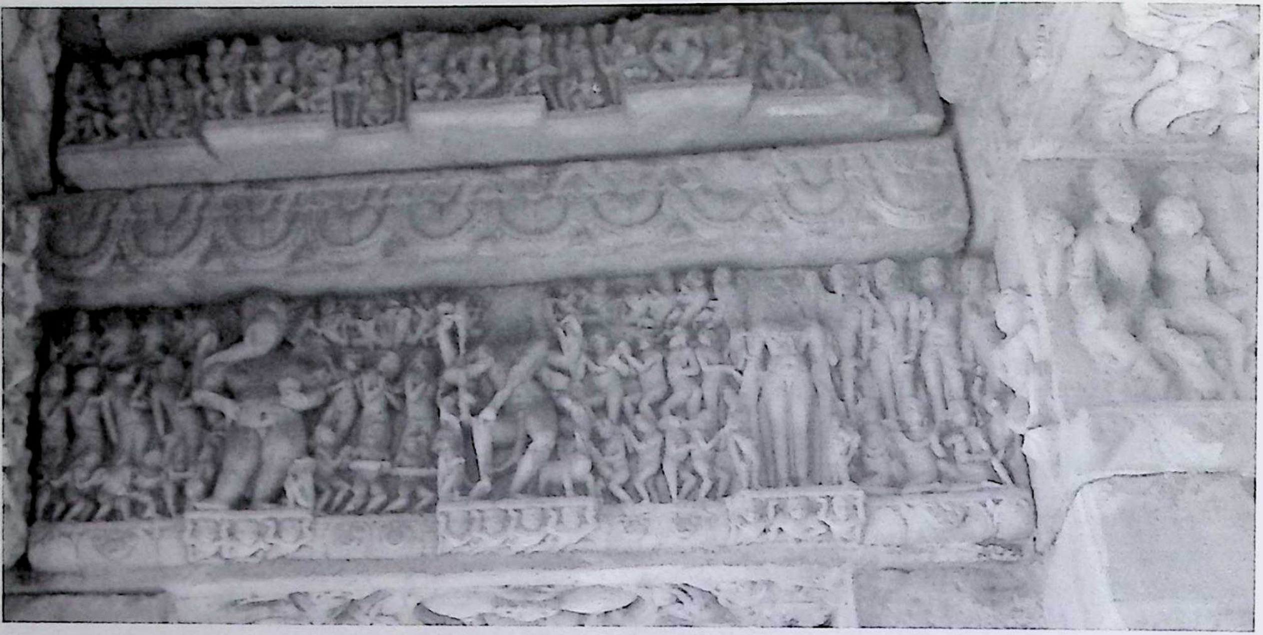
Rudra-Ekapāda figures on the recess of the *vedībandha* of Navadurgā (Teli-ka-mandir) temple at Gwalior too. The Gajāntaka *murti* (**Pl.** 92) of Śiva made its first appearance in the Navadurgā temple. The temple also has Gaṇeśa, Kārttikeya, a four-armed Śiva (**Pl.** 93), ithyphallic Lakulīśa (**Pl.** 94) and Brahmā, the last three of them depicted with *yogapaṭṭa*. In a rare depiction on the doorway of the temple, Lakulīśa is represented with his four disciples, namely: Kuśika, Gārgya, Maitreya and Kauruṣa. Thus, the early phase of Siddhāntin art in Gopācala is marked by emergence of several Śaivite motifs, such as Kalyāṇasundara, Naṭeśa, Vīṇādhara, Lakulīśa and Gajāntaka-Śiva along with Pārvatī in penance, Durgā, Gaṇeśa and Kārttikeya. It also included representations of Viṣṇu, Sūrya, Kubera, *dikpālas* and a host of *gaṇas*.

THE SECOND PHASE (10th TO 12th CENTURY)

During this phase, the temple statuary proliferated in Gopācala and Ḍāhala, distinguished by new themes while the earlier ones continued. Mātṛkās and *navagrahas* on the doorways, *dikpālas* on *karṇa* and *vyālas* and *surasundarīs* on *pratiratha* or even on

---

[64] The *Viśvakarmāśilpaśāstra* regards Aja Ekapāda as one of the Rudras. Cf. Dubey, Lal Mani (1987): 291, quoting Gopinath Rao *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, 2 (ii) 287. Banerjea (1974: 446-47) has noted that Rudra-Śiva represents amalgamation of various ethnic concepts.



Pl. 95. Gaṇeśa with Naṭesa and Parvati, Padhavali.

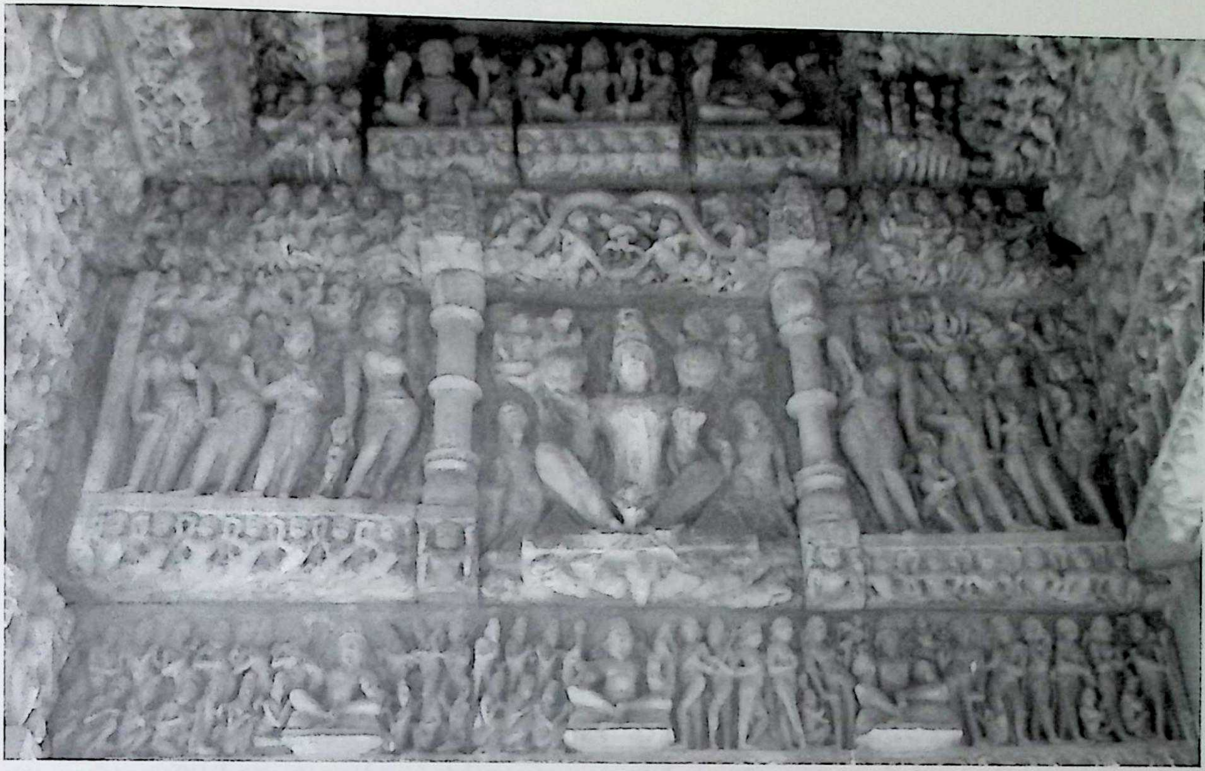
salilāntaras became regular themes in adorning the temples. Their placement was in conformity with the established pattern of temple imagery now in vogue. Śaivite themes continued to be predominant, with further amplifications added. Thus, Gaṇeśa appears with Naṭeśa and Pārvatī at Padhavali (**Pl. 95**) or with Vaināyaki in an exclusive *devakoṣṭha* (**Pl. 71**) at Kodal and even with Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī at Surwaya. The pair of Brahmā-Sāvitrī and Viṣṇu-Lakṣmī is depicted in the *garhi* temple at Kadwaha; so are the twelve Ādityas (on the temple doorways of Terahi and Kadwaha) and Sūrya (Padhavali, **Pl. 96**). The Ādityas in the group of twelve were absent during the First Phase and Sūrya then was rare. Cāmuṇḍā too received distinction, positioned in a *bhadra devakoṣṭha* (Kadwaha, **Pl. 97**) or on *maṇḍapa* architrave (Padhavali, **Pl. 98**). An image of her is seen as the principal deity in a shrine at Mahua (**Pl. 73**).[65]

The representations of Mātṛkās and ascetics, remarkable both in their variety and iconography, received considerable fillip now. As noticed above, epigraphs mention ascetics and also the goddesses, such as Navadurgā, Pārvatī, Umā and Sarasvatī; but they are silent about Mātṛkās. They, as a class, stood apart from other goddesses and were likely rooted in the popular belief system.

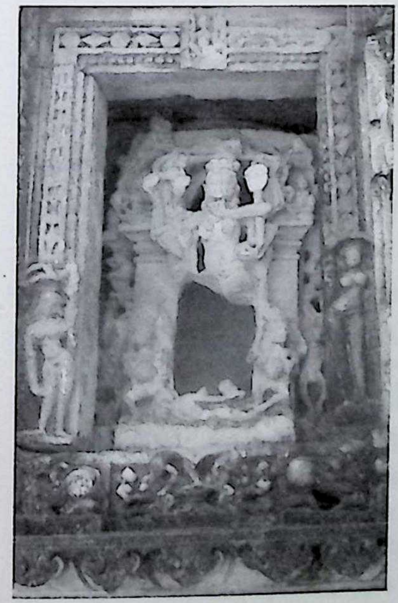
There is little in Mātṛkā images to relate them to any other source than popular religion. Siddhanta ascetics seem to have attempted to integrate them within their faith; there is no reason to connect them to Tantricism. A Tantric origin of Gopācala-Ḍāhala Mātṛkās is unlikely as there is little evidence on such connections in the contemporary epigraphs of the region. These epigraphs often refer to Siddhāntin philosophical tenets, its *kriyā* and *caryā* related

---

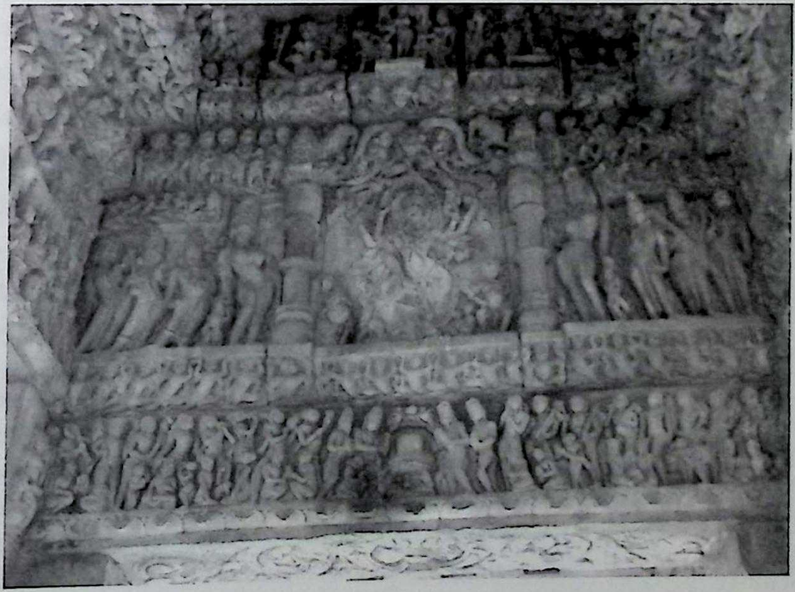
[65] It is likely that the image belonged to the Cāmuṇḍā temple of Terahi and was established in the Mahua temple later.



Pl. 96. Sūrya, *raṅgamaṇḍapa*, Padhavali.



Pl. 97. Cāmuṇḍā, *Garhi* temple, Kadwaha.



Pl. 98. Cāmuṇḍā, *raṅgamaṇḍapa*, Padhavali.

practices, spritualistic proclivities, yogic regime, its leanings towards renunciation, penance, *svādhyāya* and celibacy but evidence about Tāntric and Kaula religious streams or pursuits is totally absent in them. This makes Siddhāntin ascetics and their art patently independent of Tāntric practices and helps in separating Mātṛkās from Tantric Yoginīs. The art that the ascetics promoted in the region seems to have incorporated local deities in the pantheon and integrated them with 'higher' goddesses, the *śaktis* of *dikpālas*, or with Cāmuṇḍā as her retinue. Cāmuṇḍā doubtlessly enjoyed a wide acceptance in the Vindhyas; the *Harṣacarita* has her as a popular deity of the *vindhyāṭavī*. Piṣṭapurikā, another goddess, figures as a Vindhyan tutelary deity in the pre-Kalacuri inscriptions. Reference to both of them has been made earlier. It is not surprising therefore, that art of the region during the Second Phase came to have an overwhelming presence of queerly named female deities of *āṭavika*- or village-origin in the midst of the well-accepted deities like *saptamātṛkās*, Mahiṣamardinī, Cāmuṇḍā, Kārttikeya and Gaṇeśa. The 'motherly' character of such newly accepted '*devīs*' is evident in the sculptures that portray them with a child. Their acceptance seems to have been ubiquitous in the *aṭavīs* of the Vindhyas. Some of these popular deities found acceptance even in the iconography of a Jaina Yakṣiṇī. For instance, we have an image of Ambikā (now in the Allahabad Museum) from Patora (Satna District) which has twenty three other dimunitive Yakṣiṇī figures on stele inscribed with their names. Some of these names are local in character, and different from the standard lists of Yakṣiṇīs in the Jaina texts.[66]

Mātṛkā images of the Second Phase seem exceptional in art of the region and betray *āṭavika* sensibilities being integrated into Śaivite fold. Shorn of their Śaivite association they would represent a patently obscure, non-formal tradition *sui generis* in character. Their names are not found in the textual sources, i.e. the Purānas, Agamas, *Śilpa* or other texts. Label inscriptions or short dedicatory inscriptions on their pedestals identify them by their names.[67] Such sculptures have come from Naresar, Gurgi and from Shahdol region. Naresar has yielded twenty three 'Devī' images.[68] Most of them are inscribed and prefixed with the honorific *śrī* and were set up by a chieftain (*rāvala*) Vāmadeva in VS 1245 and VS 1249.[69] It is quite likely that these images

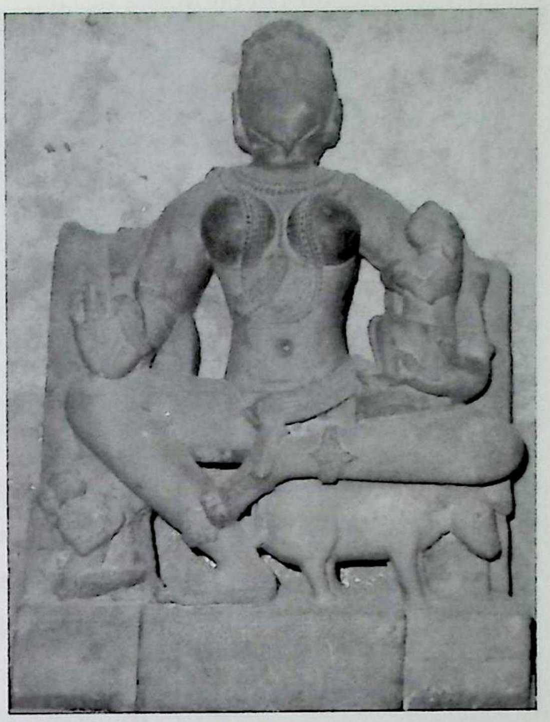
---

[66] Misra, R.N. (1981): *Yaksha Cult and Iconography*, p. 50. Budhadāghī, Bāhinī, Bhānusī, Bhānujā are among such names inscribed along with their miniature figures on the stele of the image.

[67] The labeling must have been necessary to lift them from obscurity, affirm their original identity and integrate them with the Śaivite pantheon. This would have required ascetics' temporal sanction, which obviously came and resulted in materializing and accommodating these tutelary deities of *āṭavika* communities within Śaivite pantheon and art.

[68] Cf, Dikshit, S.K. (1962) *A Guide to Central Archaeological Museum, Gwalior*, Bhopal: Dept of Archeology and Museum, Govt. of Madhya Pradesh, pp. 47-48. Also, Dehejia, Vidya (1986): 145-53. Dehejia describes them as Yoginīs and refers to their identity as *dikpālikas* too. These images carry numbers from 9 to 22. There are other images also in the group that are without any number.

[69] Vāmadeva's obeisance is recorded on the images of Vaiṣṇavī, Varāhī, Indrāṇī, Umā, Jāmyā, Vāruṇī, Kanverī (Kaumarī) and the inscriptions date them to VS 1245/1188 CE and VS 1249/1190 CE. Cf.,



Pl. 99. Devī Uma, Naresar.

from Naresar were installed as regular divinities in the series of small shrines of *phāṃsanā śikharas* built around the pond of Naresar.[70] The sanctums of these shrines are now empty. The inscriptions on pedestals of these images identify them as Carā, Vikanataṃjaḥ, Śrī *devī* Nīvau, Śrī *devī* Bhadavāvati, Uma *devī*, Viarāḥ, *Śrī* Meghāli, *Śrī* Jāmyā and Raghatapāhī. Other images in the group represent known divinities, e.g., Kvaiverī (Kauberī), *Śrī* Varuṇī *devī*, Varāhi, Vaiṣnvī (Vaiṣṇavī), Indraiṇi (Indrāṇī) besides Cāmuṇḍā and Sarasvatī, which indicates a mixing of the known with the unknown. The set of these images, quite indifferently inscribed, seems to indicate that woodland goddesses were formally included in Śaivite pantheon as Siddhānta ascetics integrated *āṭavikas* in their fold. Ancient texts do not repudiate their entity though they are outside the pale of Sanskritic linguistic or sacerdotal tradition. For instance, the non-Sanskritic connections of Devī or Śakti are affirmed in the Āryāsṭava of the *Harivaṃśa*. It underlines 'non-Aryan strands in her character' in that she was worshipped by the Śavaras, Barbaras and Pulindas: *śavarair-barbaraiś-caiva Pulindaiśca supūjitā*.[71] We have already described the campaign of Sahadeva that refers to the woodland communities of Gwalior region. It is not unlikely that such communities had their tutelary deities for, a goddess named Sekā is mentioned in association with Malwa in a later text,[72] and Seka as an indigenous community finds mention in reference to Sahadeva's campaigne in the *Mahābhārata*.

The two- or four-armed Mātṛkās from Naresar are depicted mostly in a seated posture accompanied by their mounts, and they display mixed iconographic traits. Two of them, Devī Uma (**Pl. 99**) and another four-armed damaged image, hold a child, which emphasises motherhood. Um is parrot-faced and so is her child. A boar serves as her mount. Vikanataṃjaḥ (**Pl. 100**) sits on a jackal and has a devotee by her side. Nīvau (**Pl. 101**) has a boar (?) as her mount and a devotee on the pedestal. Bhadavāvatī (**Pl. 102**) holds a skull cup in her right hand and has a reclining male for her mount besides two scantily dressed females on pedestals. The

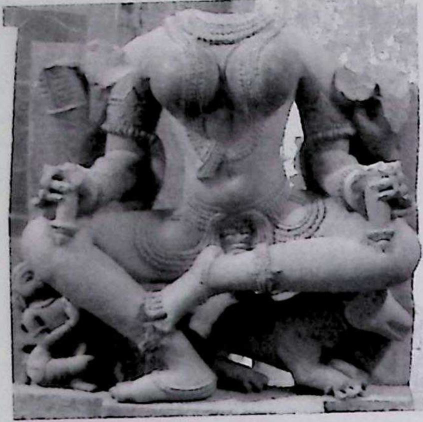
---

Singh, A.K. (2010-12): 309-323. Singh's readings of some of the names are different. See also: *Annual Report of India Epigraphy* for 1961-62, nos. C. 1463-1477.

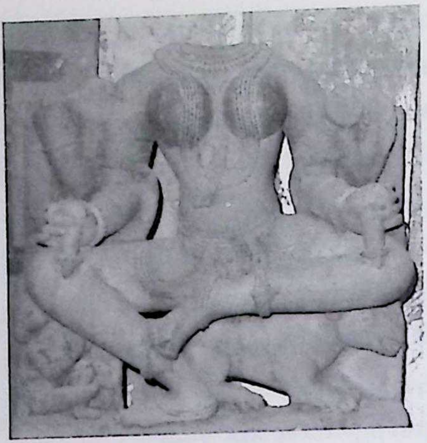
[70] The number of these small shrines with *phāṃsanā śikhara* needs being verified to match them with these sculptures.

[71] Banerjea, J.N. (1974): 491-492.

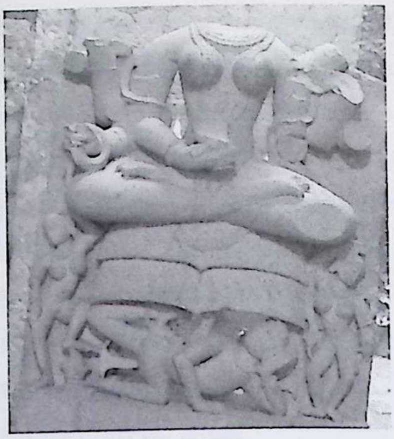
[72] Cf, Sanderson, Alexis (2009): 196. He refers to Sekā of Malava as a Yogini (*Malave tu mahāsekā...*) mentioned in the *Vajraḍāka-mahātantra*, a palm leaf manuscript in the Tokyo University Library.



Left:
Pl. 100. Vikanatamjaḥ, Naresar, Gujari Mahal Museum, Gwalior.



Centre:
Pl. 101. Nīvau, Naresar.



Right:
Pl. 102. Bhadavāvati, Naresar, Gujari Mahal Museum, Gwalior.

image inscribed as Varāhi (**Pl. 103**) has bull as her mount besides a nude dancing female on one side and a male devotee on the other. Vairāḥ—her image is damaged—sits on a bird; Meghālī is on a tusked boar and Raghatapahī is on a peacock.[73]

Vaiṣṇavī besides Kauberī and Indrāṇī, the *śakti*s of the *dikpāla*s respectively have on the pedestal figures of Garuḍa, a male (*nara*), and an elephant, the *vāhana*s of their male counterparts. The mounts (*vāhana*) of the Mātṛkā images indicate a queer assortment.

Other images of the group from Naresar represent Cāmuṇḍā (**Pl. 104**), Sarasvatī (holding a manuscript, **Pl. 105**) and a Śaivite female divinity (**Pl. 106**), not named in its inscription of VS 1249, which refers to *rāvala* Vāmadeva offering obeisance to her. This Devī stands with a bull as her *vāhana* and is accompanied by two attendants, one of them nude, both holding severed human heads.

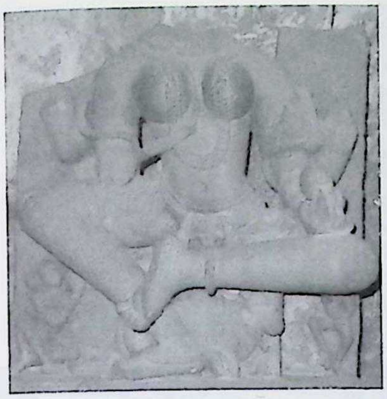
Gurgi in Ḍāhala has yielded more of such Devī images with their names, in these instances, inscribed as *śrī* Jautī, *śrī* Badarī, *śrī* Itaralā and *śrī* Bhā. Similar images from Shahdol region include *śrī* Taralā, *śrī* Tāraṇī, 'Bhā. Navā', *śrī* Bāṇaprabhā, Kṛṣṇa Bhagavatī, Ramaṇī, Vāsavā and Kapālinī.[74] They are depicted as four- six- or eight-armed, sitting or standing or even dancing (Badarī), accompanied by their *vāhana*s, such as a lion, Garuḍa, a reclining male figure, a bull or a composite animal figure. The horse-headed Itaralā has a lion as her mount but 'Bhā.Navā' is without a mount. All these Devīs are crowned with *kirīṭa-* or *jaṭa-mukuṭa*s. Tāraṇī's crown is decked with a skull. Badarī wears an *asthimālā* and Jautī has a child in lap[75] while 'Bhā.

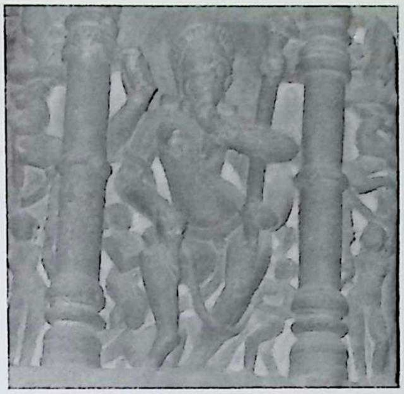
---

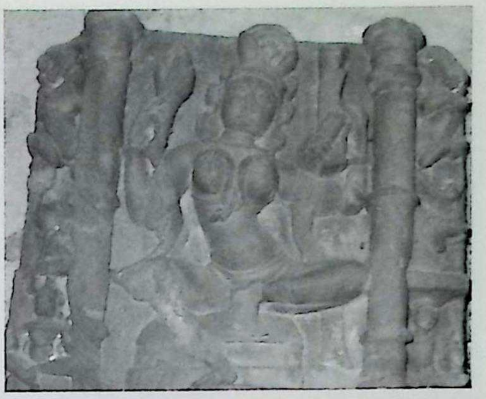
[73] Cf., Dehejia (1986): 146-148, especially for renderings of these names in Sanskrit, and for their implications.

[74] Cf, Dikshit, S.K. (1957) *A Guide to the State Museum: Dhubela, Nowgong (BKD), Vindhya Pradesh*, Nowgong. pp. 17-26, plates VI (Badarī), VII A (Bhā), VII B (Kapālinī), VIII (Bhā Navā), IX A (Itaralā), IX B (Taralā), X A (Tāraṇī), X B (Bāṇaprabhā), XI A (Kṛṣṇabhagavatī), XI B (Bhadrakālī).

[75] Dikshit (1957: 19) suggests that she could be the predecessor of a female deity Jauti who is worshipped in Maharashtra by women desiring a child.







Navā' has a severed human head in one of her left hands. The objects or weapons in their hands include the trident (*triśūla*), *khaṭvāṅga*, shield (*kheṭaka*), kettle drum (*ḍamaru*), lotus, bell (*ghanṭa*) and serpent. All the figures have male and female attendants besides the flying, garland-bearing Gandharvas and *vidyādharas*. A slender, emaciated female figure with a dagger in the right hand and a skull cup in the left (**Pl. 107**) is represented on the *janghā* of the Sita Marhi temple of Thubon. A princely figure stands in another niche beside her. She may also be included in the series of Devī images discussed above.

Apart from these quaint divinities, apparently of *āṭavika* origin, representations of ascetics who supported them are also conspicuous in monastic art of the region. Their scantily dressed figures are clad in *kaupīna*, head is covered in a mass of matted locks and a band, sometimes with a three-stringed sacred thread dropping down across the left shoulder, aptly present their frugal life of renunciation and

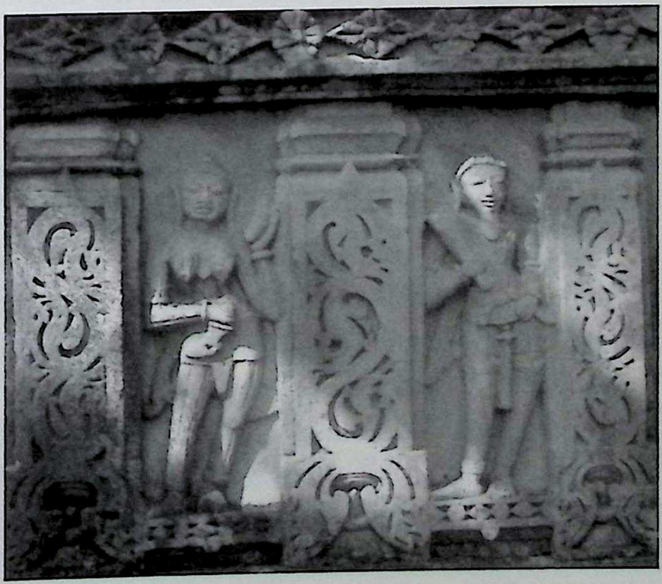
Left:
Pl. 103. Varāhi, Naresar.

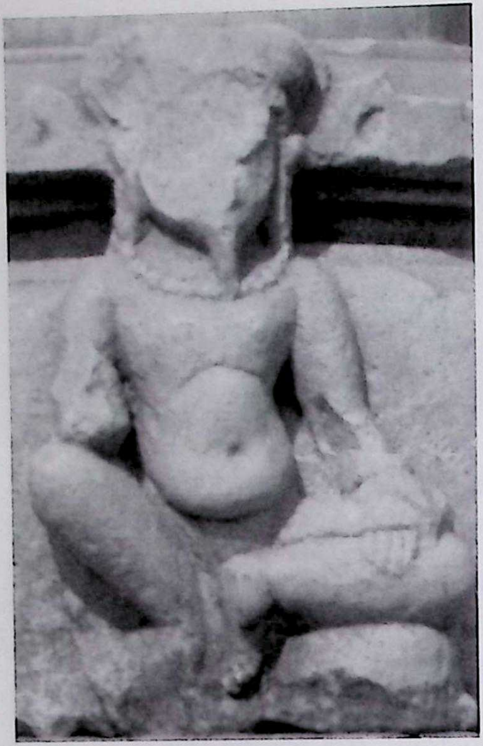
Centre:
Pl. 104. Cāmuṇḍā, Naresar, - Gujari Mahal Museum, Gwalior.

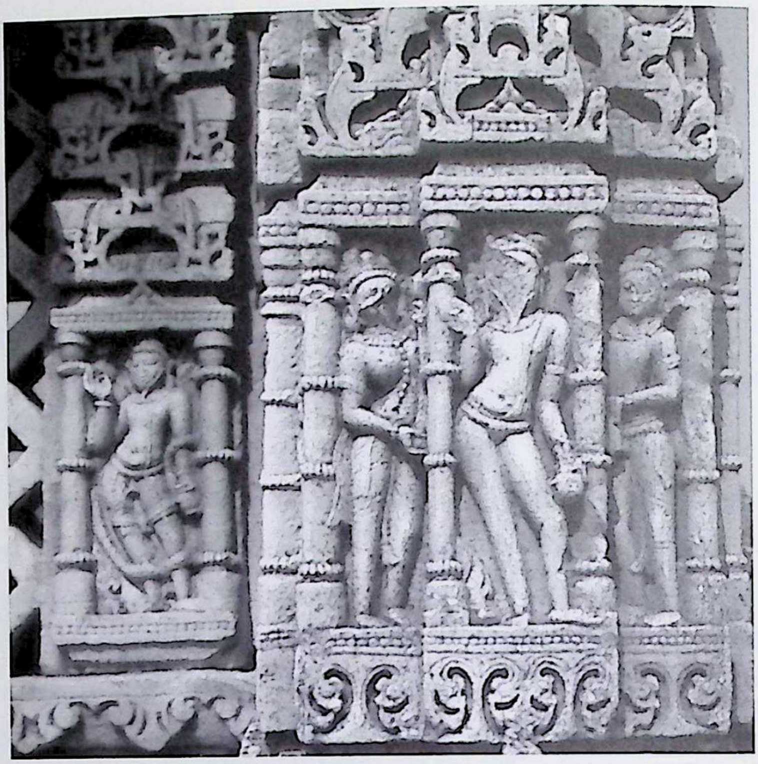
Right:
Pl. 105. Sarasvatī.

Left:
Pl. 106. Śaivite female divinity, and attendants, enlarged for detail, Naresar, Gujari Mahal Museum, Gwalior.

Right:
Pl. 107. Figures, Sita Marhi temple, Thubon.





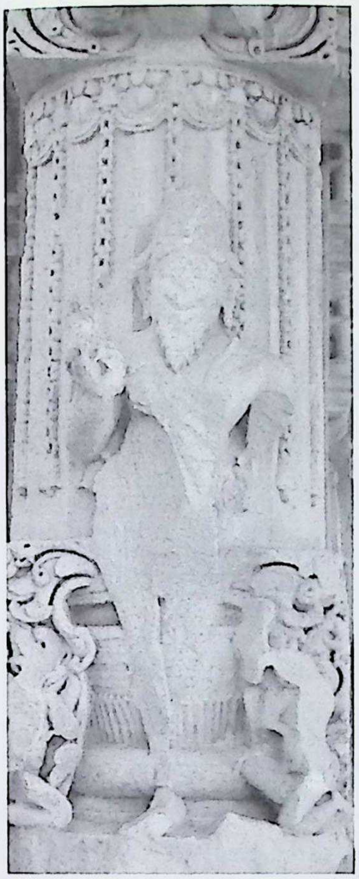


Left:
Pl. 108. Ascetic holding a manuscript.

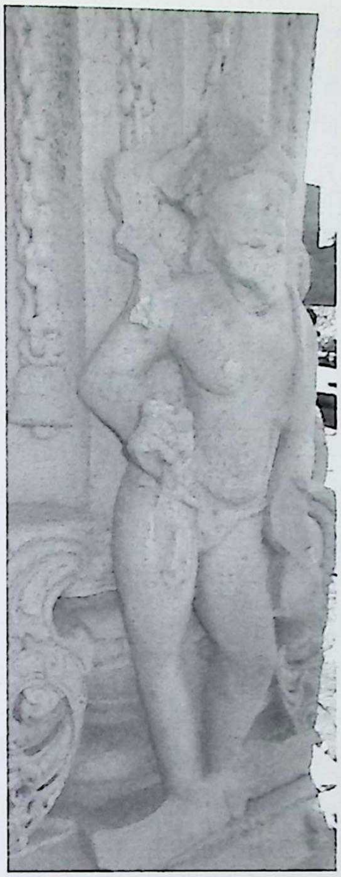
Right:
Pl. 109. Ascetic holding a water pot, Surwaya (*Sarvatobhadra* shrine).

self-discipline. The band could serve as a *yogapaṭṭa* too. Ascetics are represented in the temple statuary of Kadwaha, Chandrehe, Terahi, Padhavali, Batesar and Thubon, but they are most prominent at Surwaya. Their role as learned *guru*s is not missed in their depictions as they carry manuscript in hand. The *sarvatobhadra* shrine (mid-eighth century) of the *maṭha* at Surwaya, where they first appeared, has them in six depictions. Standing or seated, alone or in a pair, they are invariably shown pot-bellied. In different instances, they hold flute and a bunch of flowers (**Pl. 80**), sacrificial ladle with a bunch of flowers (**Pl. 79**), or hold a manuscript (**Pl. 108**) and wear a string of *rudrākṣa* beads on neck and arms. In an instance at Surwaya (*Sarvatobhadra* shrine), two of them are shown together in conversation, sitting in *gomukhāsana*. In another instance, the standing ascetic holds a water pot (*kamanḍalu*) in left hand and fire flames are depicted on the pedestal below (**Pl. 109**). The flute-holding ascetic has two female figures on sides, one blowing a pipe (trumpet) and the other a conch. These representations, small in size, are appropriately expressive of the saintly pursuits of the ascetics. In the later examples from Surwaya, they are seen larger in size and conspicuous.

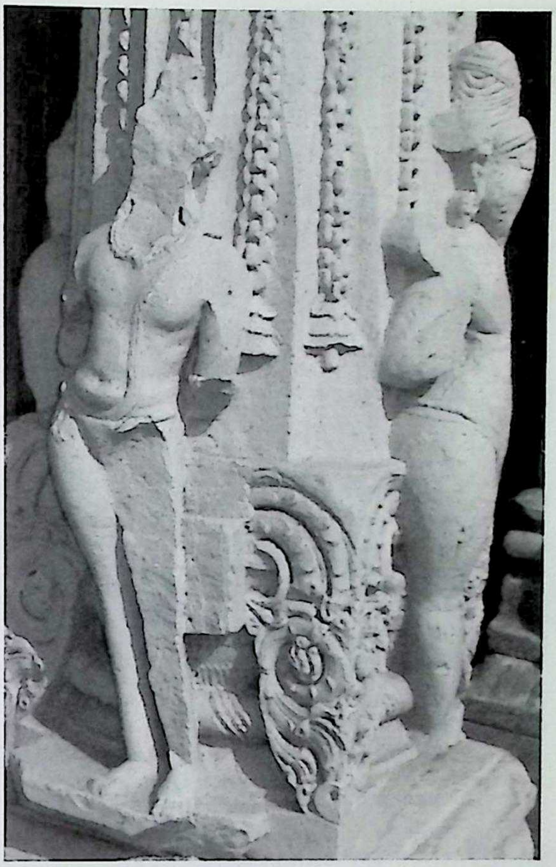
These figures of ascetics in the porch of the Surwaya temple (1) are badly mutilated. They however are significant in configuring ascetics with divinities, either as custodians or as witness to the celebrations that is writ large in the liberally dispersed narratives of reliefs.



Left:
Pl. 110. Ascetic with two kneeling acolytes, Surwaya, Temple No. 1.

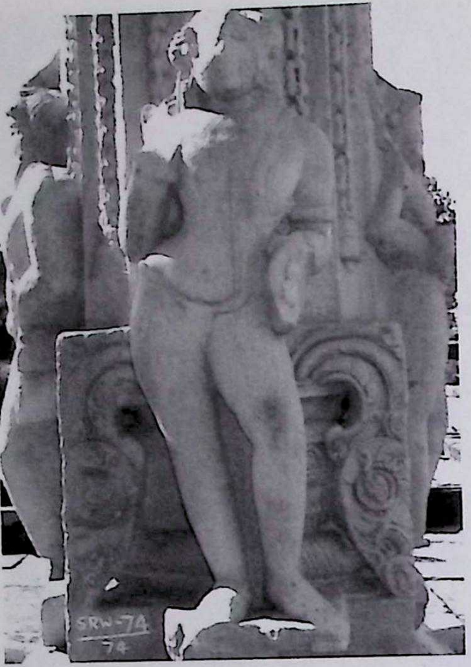


Centre:
Pl. 111. Ascetic with a beaded band on shoulder and belly, Surwaya, Temple No. 1.



Right:
Pl. 112. Ascetic wearing sacred thread and necklace.

Each of the two front pillars carries standing figures of four ascetics facing four directions; the pilasters on the inner side carry two other such figures, more distinguished than others in their high crown of matted locks and pleasant countenance. One of them has two kneeling acolytes on the pedestal (**Pl. 110**). These ascetics have some indistinct object in one hand; their other hand is broken. Both the figures are pot-bellied, and embellished with a beard, *jaṭā* and a band descending (like a sacred thread) from the left shoulder. This band, in one case, is adorned with beads on shoulder and belly (**Pl. 111**). Among the other figures of ascetic on outer pillars, one holds a manuscript while another (**Pl. 112**) wears a three-stringed sacred thread along with a partly beaded band and a necklace too. Yet another ascetic (**Pl. 113**) wears two bands, one descending down at the centre of the torso and the other down the left shoulder, like a sacred thread, but intersecting the other at the waist. One of the bearded ascetics on a pillar of the porch is shown wearing a *kaupīna*, *jaṭā* and a band in *yajñopavīta* fashion. He has a string of *rudrākṣa* beads around the neck. Two other ascetics in standing posture are represented on the *mithuna śākhā* and one of them (**Pl. 114**) has two attendants (?) flanking him. Another seated *yogī* (**Pl. 115**) on the *vedībandha* of the temple is shown playing a flute. The *yogī* figures on this temple stand



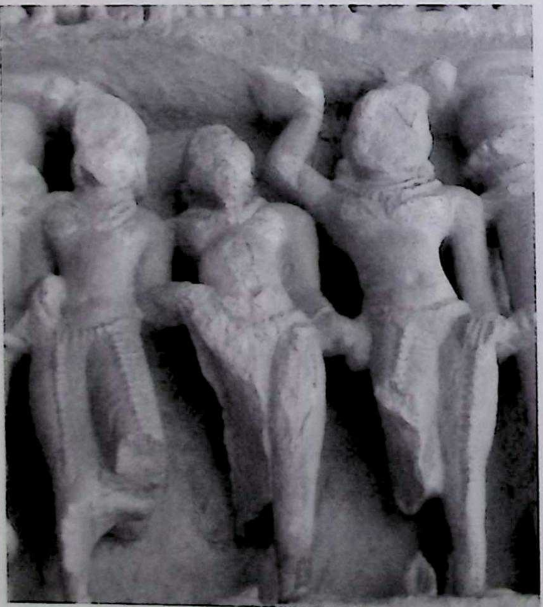
Pl. 113. Ascetic wearing two bands, Surwaya, Temple No. 1.

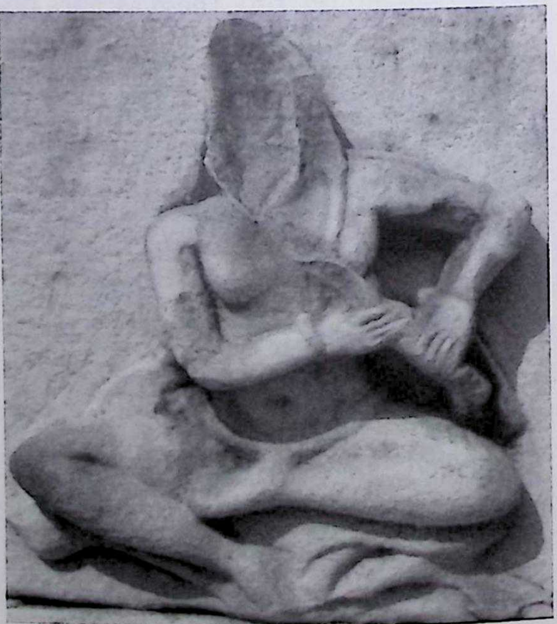
out as a class and are fascinating in that they present a distinct iconographic type.

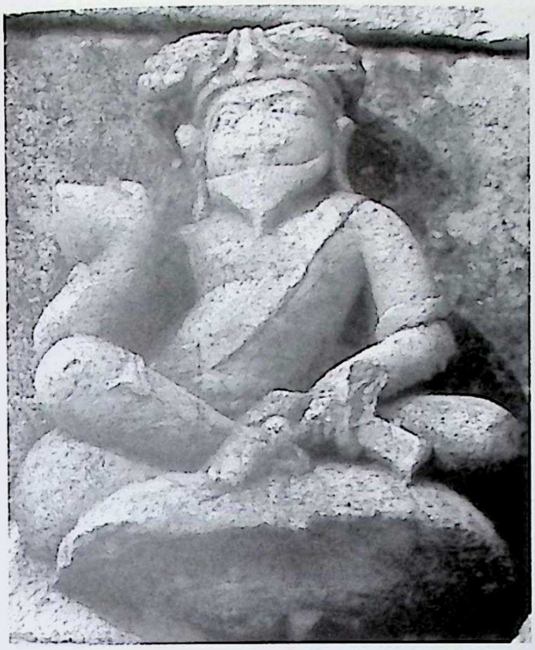
Padhavali, chronologically and stylistically coeval to this Surwaya temple (1), also has the figures of *muni*s arrayed as a part of larger compositions. The interior of Padhavali's pillared *raṅgamaṇḍapa* and its porch have the ceiling divided into thirteen compartments resting on a series of three to seven heavily populated architraves. The architraves on their turn are supported below by well-adorned pillars or half pillars. Some of the ceilings are now ruined. The architraves carry figures of divinities, including the Trinity, *daśāvatāras*, Kṛṣṇa-*līlā* episodes, Cāmuṇḍā, Sūrya, a frieze depicting Kalyāṇasundara-Śiva, Umā, Gaṇeśa, Kārttikeya, worship of *linga* by ascetics and warriors, ascetics and acolytes, Gandharva, apsarasas and *gaṇas*, warriors in action, couples, erotic figures and even fierce goblins in their demoniac revelry. Thirteen small figures of ascetics in a row seated singly or in a pair, appear in the narrative of *linga* worship. This frieze occupies the bottom of the Cāmuṇḍā panel (**Pl. 98**). Another frieze below the Sūrya panel (**Pl. 96**) has three-headed Brahmā in *sukhāsana* in the centre with two other distinguished *muni*s on both the sides, similarly seated. They are all pot-bellied, have elaborate headgear and a band (*paṭa*, it could double up as *yogapaṭṭa*!) on the shoulder like that of Surwaya's ascetic figures. Brahmā is four-armed, holds a trident (!) and a *śruvā* (sacrificial ladle) and has three emaciated ascetics standing

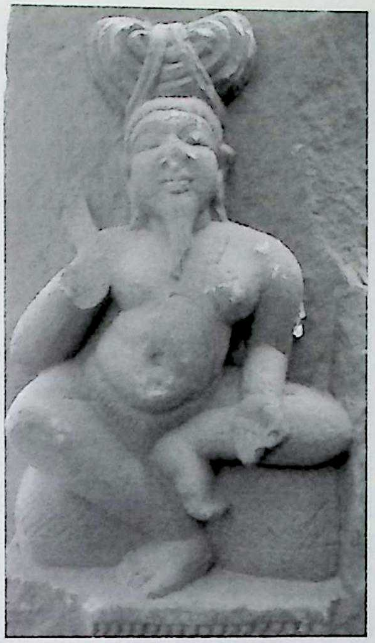
Left:
Pl. 114. Ascetic with two attendants.

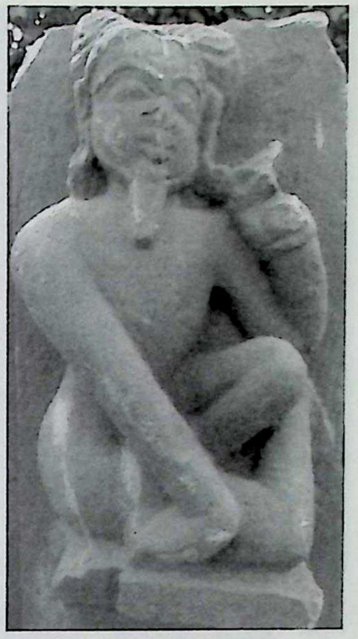
Right:
Pl. 115. yogī on the *vedībandha*, playing on a flute, Surwaya, Temple No. 1.











Left:
Pl. 116. Ascetic, temple (Group 7), Kadwaha.

Centre:
Pl. 117. Ascetic in *sukhāsana*.

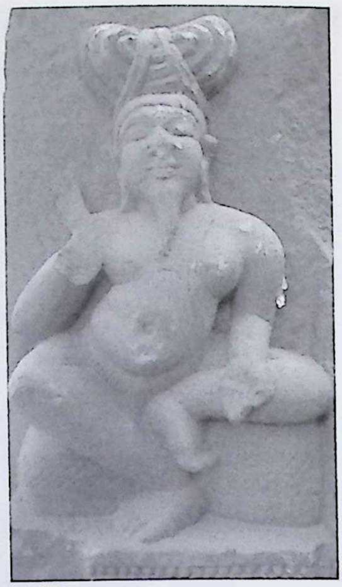
Right:
Pl. 118. Ascetic in *gomukhāsana*, Archaeological Museum, Chanderi.

in supplication, to his right. Below, at the bottom, the narrative frieze has figures set in two levels; the lower one with thirteen emaciated ascetics sitting in a row. They are all small in size, wearing *jaṭā* and a beard and holding some indistinct object in the hands. The upper level contains standing figures of attendants, devotees and warriors carrying clubs. These multiple ascetic figures of Padhavali offer evidence of their significant presence in the activities of the site and its monument, which would have remained unknown otherwise. The *raṅgamaṇḍapa* thus strikes as a centre where ascetics held a perpetual spectacle of celebration and festivities, which the local communities joined assuming gods as witnesses and a host of ghouls or goblins (*vetāla*s) as revellers.[76] Śiva's wedding represented in his Kalyāṇasundara image in the *raṅgamaṇḍapa* could be the event for celebration and in that Padhavali seems to repeat the similar revelry depicted in the *mukha maṇḍapa* of Surwaya.

Ascetics (**Pl. 116**) figure on the temples of Kadwaha also; detached images similar to them are seen in the collection of the Archaeological Museum at Chanderi. These images in the Museum portray them as pot-bellied, seated in *sukhāsana* (**Pl. 117**) or *gomukhāsana* (**Pl. 118**), offering a discourse while holding a manuscript (**Pl. 119**). Ascetics are also depicted holding hand in *vyākhyāna* (**Pl. 120**) or *tarpaṇa* mode (**Pl. 121**) or holding a cup (?) (**Pl. 122**). An image on Thubon's Hori ki Madhia temple is interesting in showing two of them sitting (audaciously) above the deity on the pediment of a *devakoṣṭha* (**Pl. 123**).

---

[76] Goblins and their females (*vetālavarga*) are found prominently distributed around the Cāmuṇḍā temple at Terahi. They are briefly discussed below.



Left:
Pl. 119. Ascetic offering a discourse, holding a manuscript.

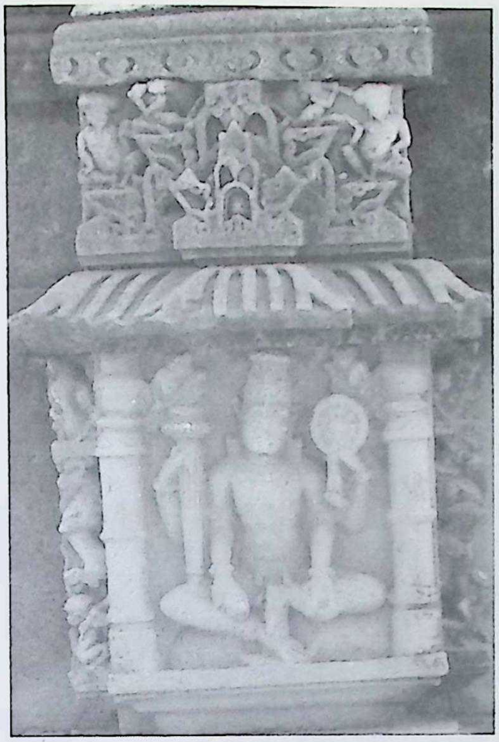
Centre:
Pl. 120. Ascetic in *vyākhyāna mudrā*.

Right:
Pl. 121. Ascetic in *tarpaṇa mudrā*, (Archaeological Museum, Chanderi).

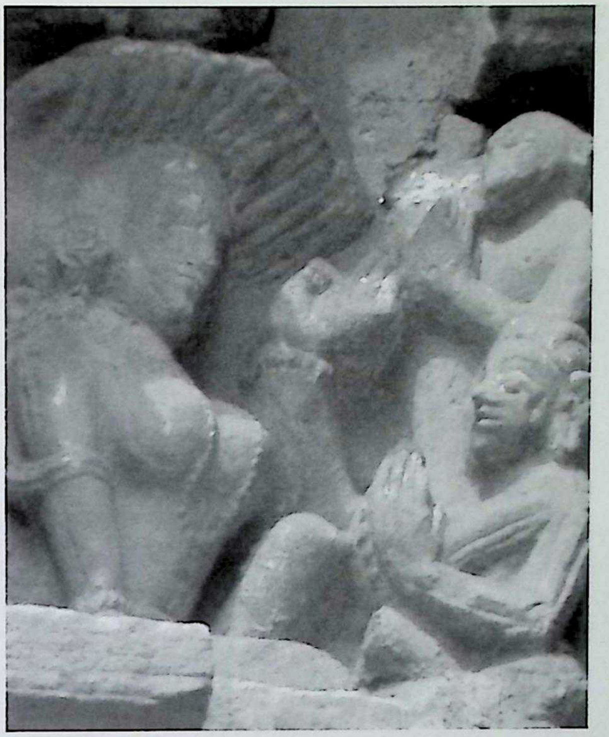
An image on Viratesvara temple (west face) of Sohagpur (near Shahdol) depicts an emaciated *muni* in pious humility, offering obeisance to a goddess. The goddess has an extraordinarily effulgent halo (**Pl. 124**). Chandrehe too has ascetic figures reverently sitting on pedestals of Devī images.

Apart from these images, there are others of utterly different genre, representing ghouls and their weird ways. The crowd of *preta*s in revelry (**Pl. 125**) in the Padhavali *raṅgamaṇḍapa*, emaciated, nude, grotesque, carrying a dismembered corpse (!) in a hexagonal container and devouring entrails, seems enigmatic but it has a parallel in the statuary of the Cāmuṇḍā temple (locally known as Mohaja Mata) of Terahi, a Mattamayūra stronghold. This Cāmuṇḍā temple stands away from the Śiva temple of Terahi discussed above and is unique for its morbid statuary, though Naṭeśa (N) is also portrayed on the *udgama* of *kapilī*. The temple faces west and consists of a sanctum and porch with a sculpted doorway between them. The doorway has nine Mātṛkās: Cāmuṇḍā on a *preta* on the *lalāṭa*, Kaumārī and Pārvatī on the terminals and six other Mātṛkās, including Vaināyakī in the space in between. The architrave above the *uttaraṅga* has dancing figures. A panel on the *mithuna śākhā* of the doorway has two erotic figures. The female figures are predominant everywhere on the temples: even the *dikpāla*s who figure on *karṇa*s have been replaced by *dikpālikā*s, their consorts. Externally, the *kapilī devakoṣṭhas* carry Varāhī (S) and Kaumārī (N), and the *jaṅghā* of the temple has two bands of sculptures. The upper band has *dikpālikā*s on

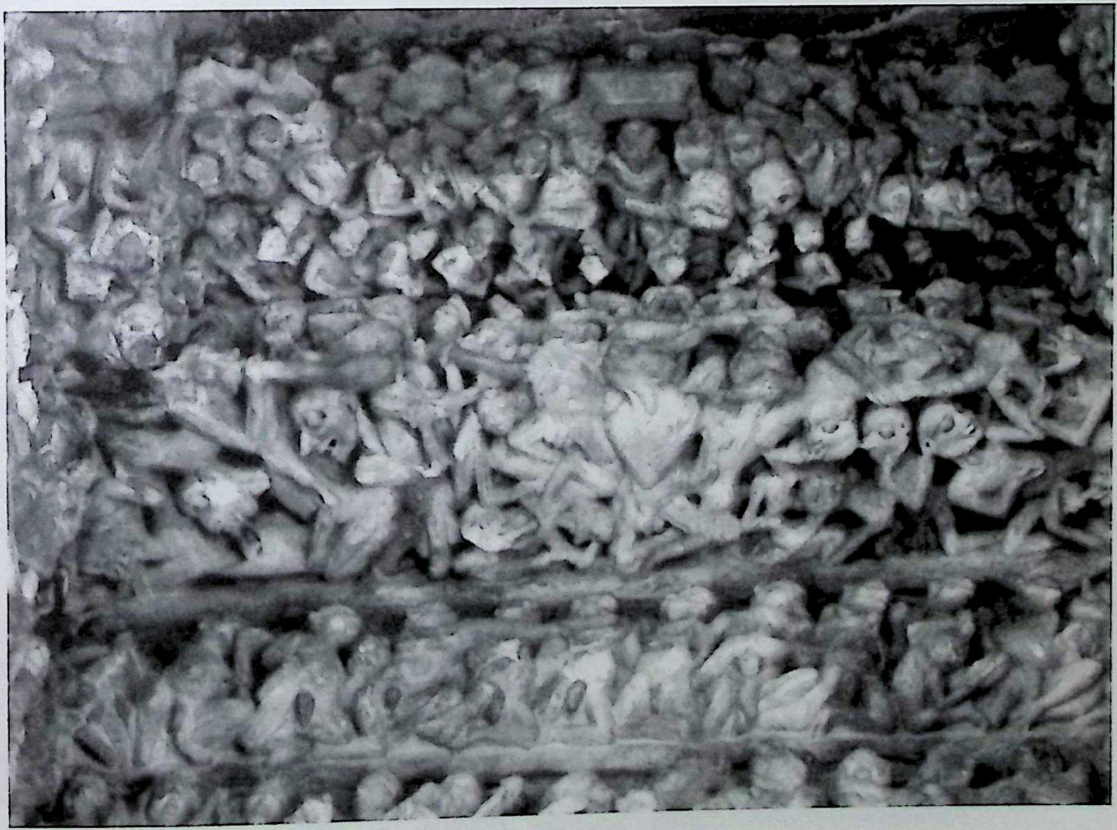
Pl. 122. Ascetic holding a cup (?), Archaeological Museum, Chanderi.



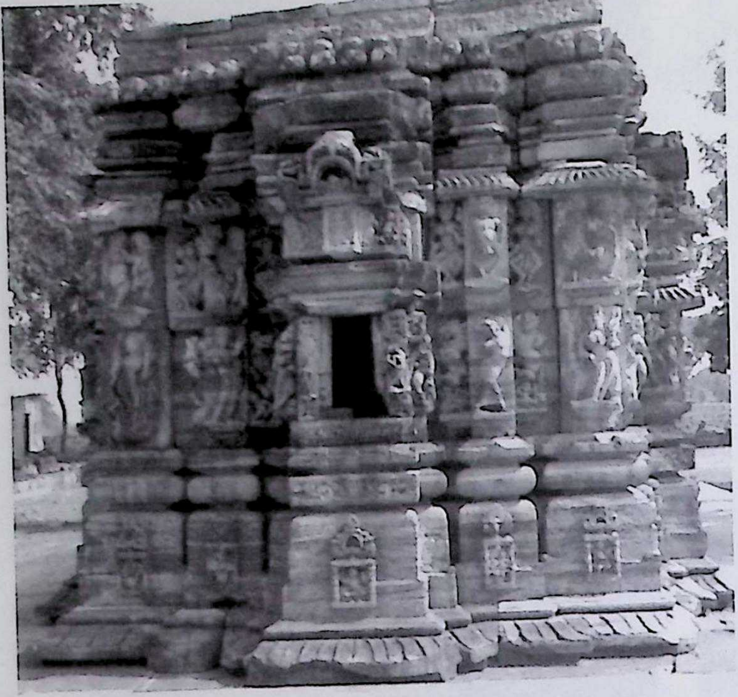
Pl. 123. Ascetics on a *devakoṣṭha*, Hori ki Madhia temple, Thubon.

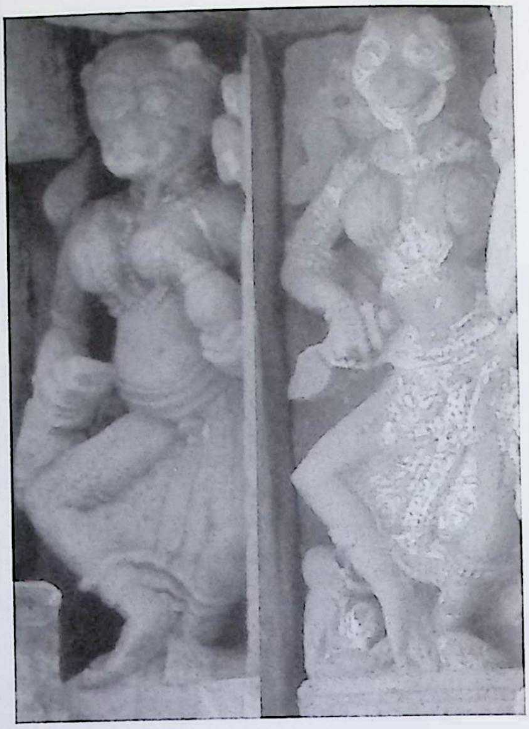


Pl. 124. Emaciated ascetic paying obeisance to a goddess, Virateshvara temple, Sohagpur.



Pl. 125. *Pretas* in revelry, *raṅgamaṇḍapa*, Padhavali.





Left:
Pl. 126. Distribution of statuary, Cāmuṇḍā temple, Terahi.

Right:
Pl. 127. Lion-faced *Pretanīs*.

the *karṇas*, *surasundarīs* on *pratirathas* and *vyālas* in the *salilāntara* (**Pl. 126**). The lower band portrays raw, appalling malevolence, unashamed in its depiction of grotesque *pretas* (ghouls) and *pretanīs* (banshees).

One of these *pretanī* figures (N) in the recess is lion-faced and holds a dagger (**Pl. 127**). These figures, two-armed, are represented nude (**Pl. 128**), in dalliance (**Pl. 129**), pulling out the intestines of a victim (**Pl. 130**), devouring the entrails (**Pl. 131**), holding a severed head and drinking from a skull cup (**Pl. 132**). The single *pretanīs* are often shown with a dagger (**Pl. 127, Pl. 133**).

Such ghouls recall the *vetāla-varga* mentioned in the Bilhari inscription of Yuvarājadeva II[77] in connection with the horrors of a battle. Terahi's battle-scarred history, mentioned earlier, may affirm their relevance in the Cāmuṇḍā temple and its uncanny imagery. The formal Mattamayūra connections of Terahi do not come out in these sculptures unless they are considered as a relic of *āṭavikas*' beliefs in mysterious malevolent deities and their magical rites that ascetics promoted to win them over. After all, Terahi did witness bloody battles and the demise of those who died, instead of being rued, had been idealized.

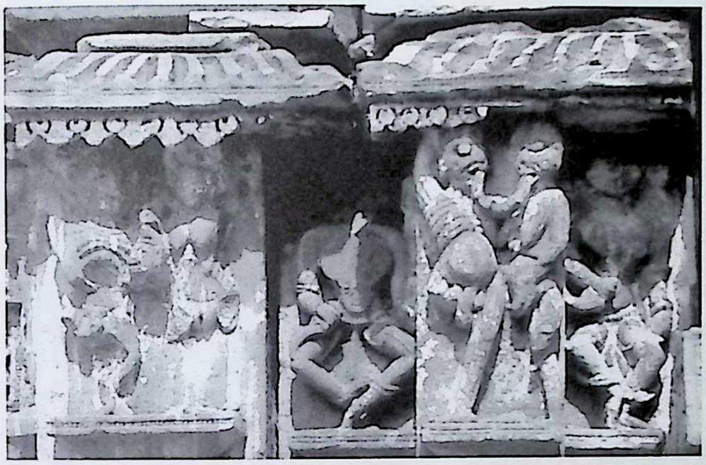
We may conclude this chapter with a brief account of Śaivite images detached from temple, which they once adorned. Although not *in situ* they are significant for their content.

---

[77] Such hosts are connected to Rudra in the inscription, which recalls both Rudra and Bhairava besides *vetālavarga* (crowds of dreadful goblins) in horrifying acts in the battlefield: *māṃsagrāsābhilāṣa-svanada-śiva-śivā-bhiravārāva raudraṃ raudraṃ yo dhāma vibhrat pratisamaramiti dveṣicakrañcakāra*. Mirashi (1955): 210. V. 20.

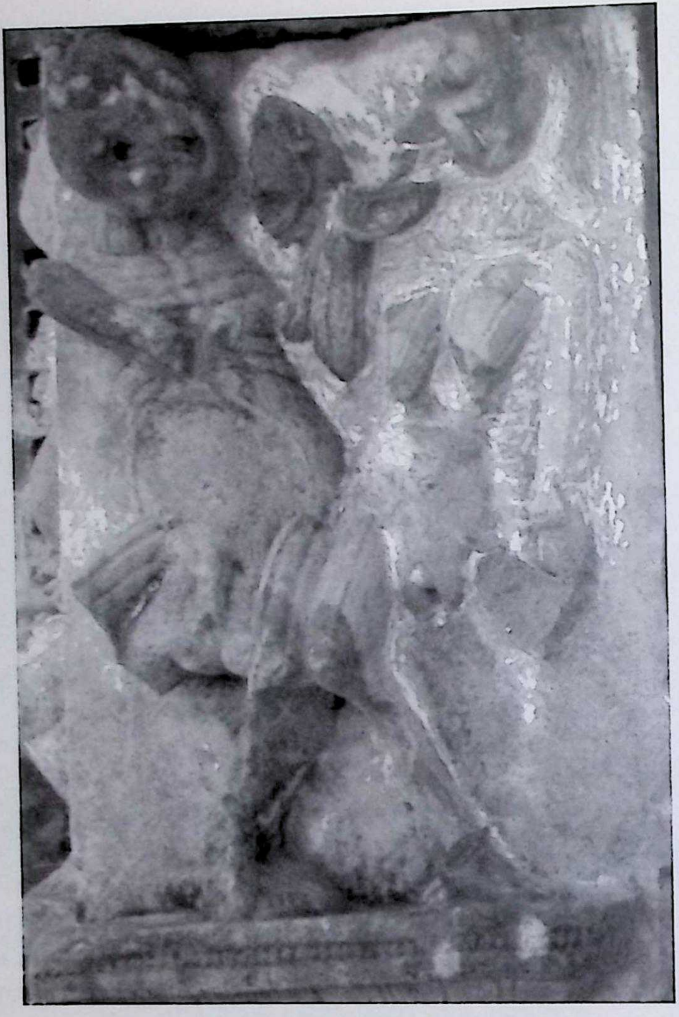
Pl. 128. Goblins (*Preta*), Cāmuṇḍā temple, Terahi.

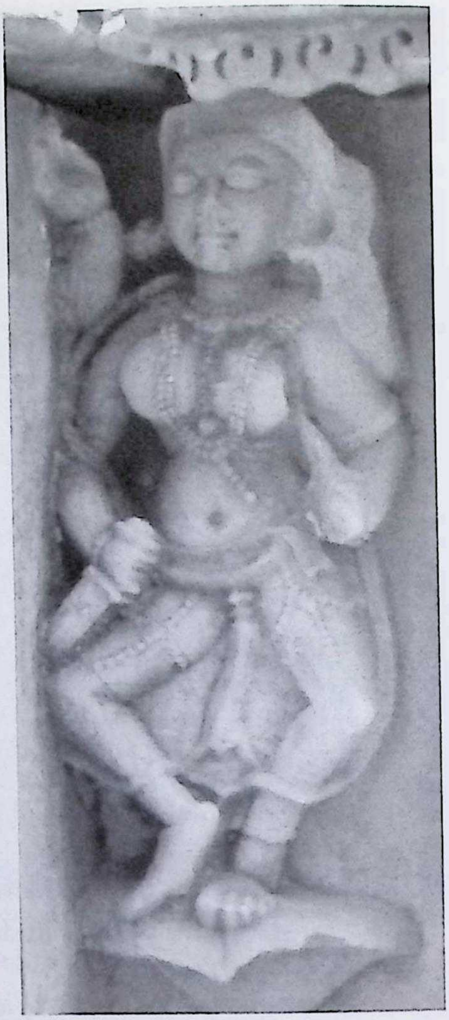
Pl. 130. *Preta* pulling out a victim's intestines, Cāmuṇḍā temple, Terahi.



Pl. 129. *Preta* couple in dalliance, besides other *Pretanī*s, Cāmuṇḍā temple, Terahi.

Pl. 131. *Preta* couple devouring entrails, and assorted *Preta* figures.





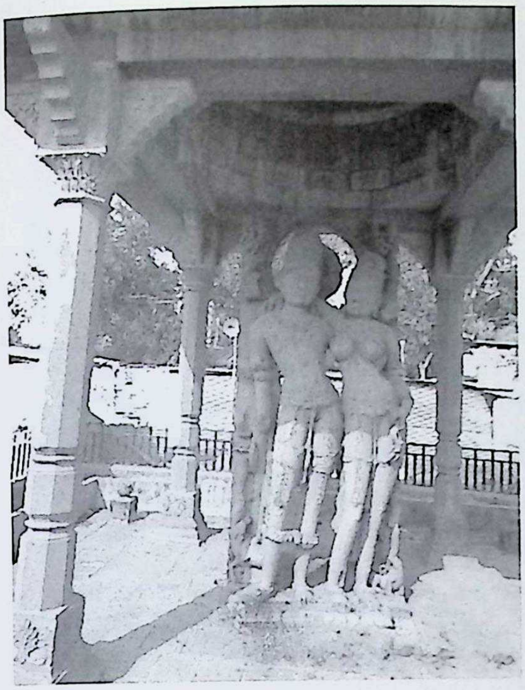
Left:
Pl. 132. *Preta* couple holding severed head and drinking from a skull cup, Cāmuṇḍā temple, Terahi.

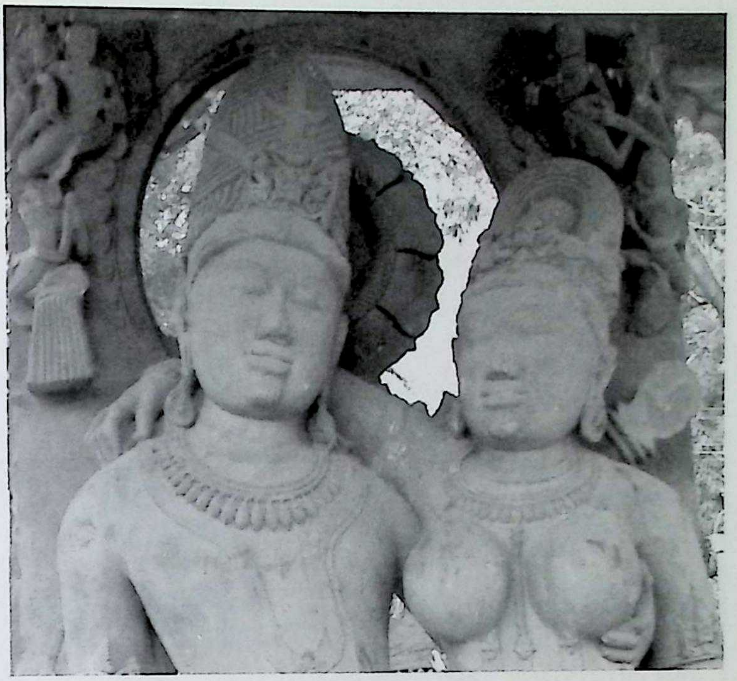
Right:
Pl. 133. *Pretanī* holding a curved dagger, Cāmuṇḍā temple, Terahi.

These images include the placid forms of the deity, such as Umā with Īśa,[78] *Vṛṣapratiṣṭha* Śiva and Sadāśiva or the images depicting episodes like Śiva subjugating Rāvaṇa (Rāvaṇa *anugraha mūrti*) or Andhaka (Andhākantaka *mūrti*) or Śiva-Pārvatī playing the game of dice (*caupaḍa*). These forms, excepting Sadāśiva, have been mentioned in the epigraphs, quoted above, and relate to the Second Phase of the work. Among these, Uma-Īśa and *Vṛṣapratiṣṭha* Śiva are dated by inscriptions. The Umā-Īśa image (Pl. 134; details: Pl. 135) is dated sometime before 973 CE. The *Vṛṣapratiṣṭha* image is remarkable for its simplicity and economy of details, except that the *jaṭā-mukuṭa* (crown of matted locks) of Śiva has a crescent (and possibly the third eye) on it. Both Umā and Īśa, the divinities in the image, have their respective mounts, bull and lion, on pedestal and are shown in worship by *munis*, one on the right and two others on the left. Īśa and Umā wear a torque, a necklace and double *keyūra* (arm-band); they are in embrace and have tranquil countenances. The *Vṛṣapratiṣṭha* image of Śiva and Pārvatī shows the couple

---

[78] *Supra*, p. 127.





Left:
Pl. 134. Umā-Īśa image, Gurgi, now in a park in Rewa.

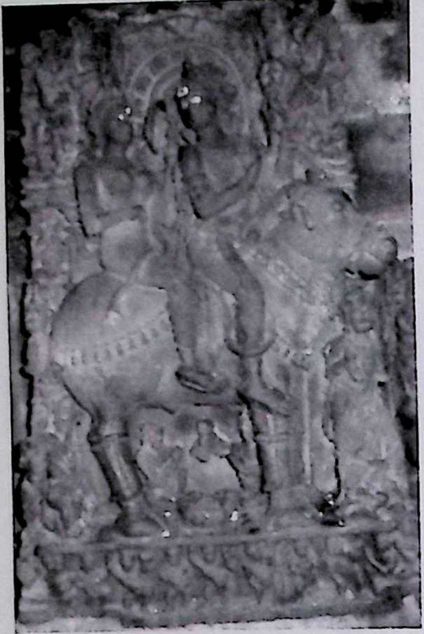
Right:
Pl. 135. details of Pl. 134.

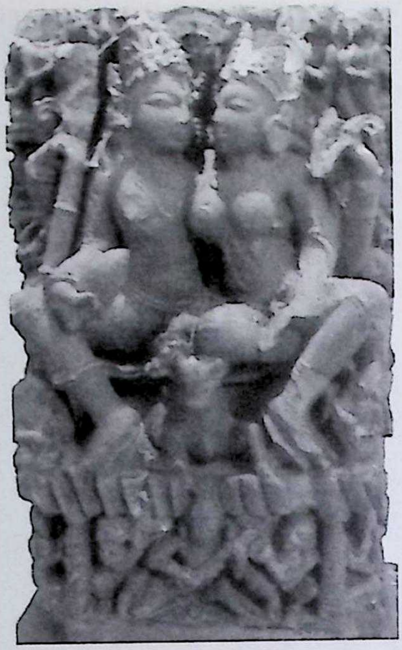
riding on a bull (**Pl. 136**); it is sheltered in the Gaurishankar temple of Bheraghat and may be dated to 1174 CE on basis of the temple inscription, so dated.[79] The couple is shown astride Nandī with Śiva turning his head backwards for a glance at Pārvatī who is looking into a mirror held in her hand. The pedestal has eight dancing *gaṇa*s and the donor couple seated in supplication to the divinities. Three figures of *muni*s, offering prayer to the deities, are seated between the legs of the Nandī; the third figure in the centre is badly damaged. Another *muni* and a formidable Śaiva *gaṇa* stand on two sides of the Nandī. The entire stele is crowded with figures of divinities, Gandharvas, Apsarasas and other male and female attendants.

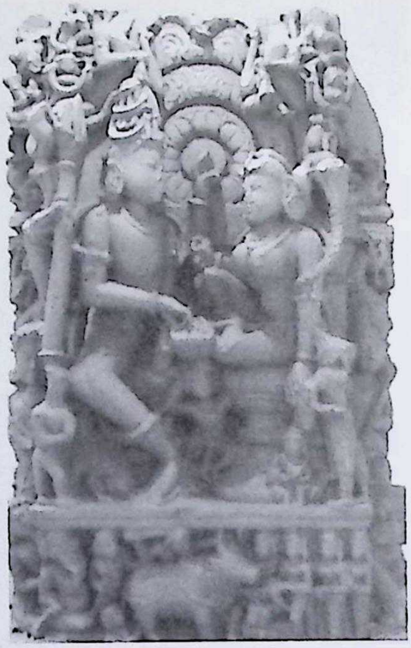
The Rāvaṇa-*anugraha* image (**Pl. 137**) in the Rani Durgavati Museum (Jabalpur) has the couple, clasping each other, sitting with Nandī on Kailāsa. The pedestal has a splayed figure of Rāvaṇa holding a staff in his hand and the serrated band of stone above his figure is suggestive of the rocky peaks of Kailāsa. Two figures flanking Rāvaṇa, two others by the side of the divinities and other subsidiary figures above on the stele complete the scene. Five beads on the right knee of Pārvatī are perhaps the pieces of her fallen jewelry suggestive of the commotion caused by Rāvaṇa's misadventure. The image was procured from the vicinity of Jabalpur. The scene is depicted in another image also (No. J. 108), in the Rani Durgavati Museum of Jabalpur. This image was procured possibly from Tewar (ancient Tripuri) near Jabalpur. One of these images shows an extra head, a donkey's head, on the crest of Rāvaṇa. An image in the same collection shows Śiva and Pārvatī playing a game of dice (**Pl. 138**). The

---

[79] Mirashi (1955): 334, v. 2.







Left:
Pl. 136. Śiva and Umā on a bull, Gaurishankar temple, Bheraghat.

Centre:
Pl. 137. Rāvaṇa-*anugraha* image, Rani Durgavati Museum, Jabalpur.

Right:
Pl. 138. Śiva and Pārvatī playing the game of dice, Rani Durgavati Museum, Jabalpur.

couple is shown seated, with a playing board placed between them, as Śiva arranges his game with fingers on the board and Pārvatī holds the cubical dice, waiting for her turn. The pedestal carries Nandī and a lion as mounts of the divinities, a kneeling devotee, Gaṇeśa and a standing *gaṇa*. Another *gaṇa* stands by the side of Śiva holding a staff mounted with a skull. This form of Śiva playing dice with his consort has been poetically described in different Kalacuri inscriptions. These records dwell upon the ire of Parvatī at Śiva's tricks, the ire and anger which makes the Moon and the Nāga on the God's body apprehensive of being snatched and thrown away.[80] The Ardhanārīśvara form of Śiva is portrayed on the *vedībandha* of Kadwaha's monastic temple. Siddhānta was particularly devoted to Sarasvatī, Gaṇeśa and Kārttikeya and each of them is found depicted repeatedly on the monuments of the Second Phase, Sarasvatī for instance at Chandrehe and Gaṇeśa and Kārttikeya at Gurgi.[81] Kalyāṇasundara and Andhakāri were portrayed at Kodal but Nateśa appears as a favourite theme of representation at Chandrehe, Kodal, Kadwaha, Surwaya and even in a small niche of the Cāmuṇḍa temple of Terahi.[82] But a Sadāśiva icon from Naresar, now deposited in the Central Archaeological Museum at Gwalior is one of the most fascinating example among the Śaivite images.

---

[80] A loose sculpture in the Virateshvara temple of Sohagpur, near Shahdol, also depicts this scene. The image is damaged.

[81] They figure prominently on the Gurgi gate of the Rewa palace. The Gate is elaborately carved with a multitude of figures and carries depictions of ascetics.

[82] Desai (1996: 60) says that the Ūrddhva-Śaivas, representing a sub-sect of Śaiva Siddhānta, "considered Naṭeśa as the Supreme Lord (*Pati*) beyond the nine *tattvas*, and propitiated the dancing form of Śiva."

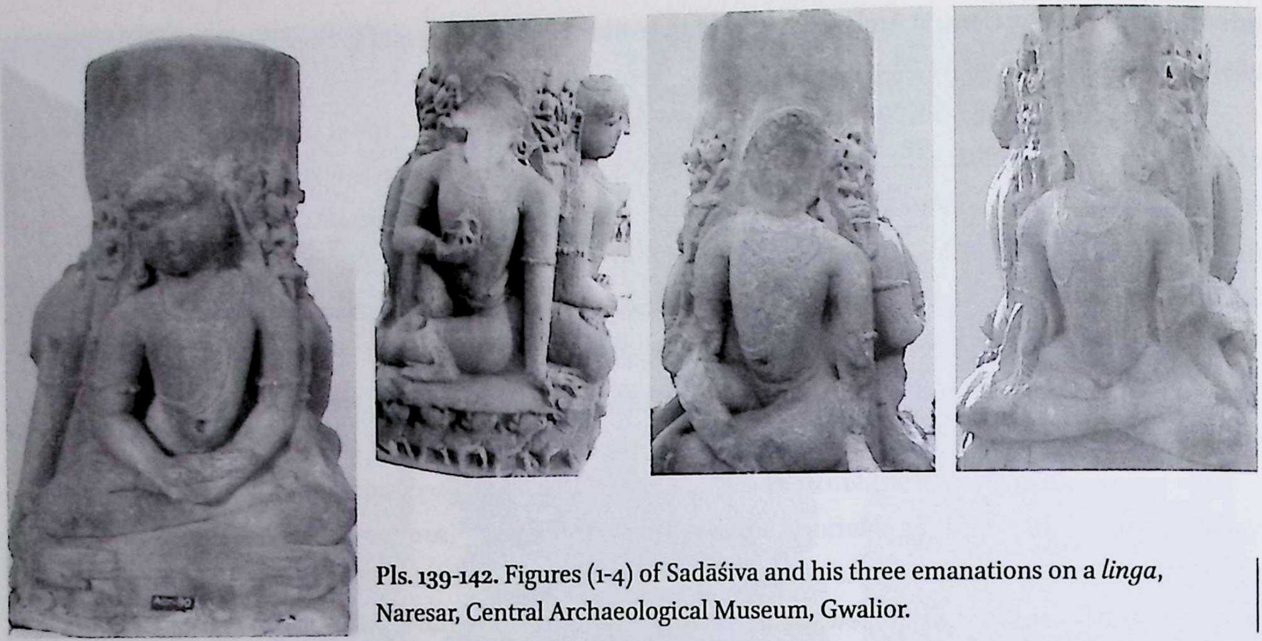
The Sadāśiva image from Naresar is an abbreviated representation of the doctrinal aspects of Siddhānta Śaivism (same as Śuddha Śaiva) that typifies three fundamental Siva 'elements' (*tattvas*) in content: Supreme Śiva, the 'non-manifest' (*niṣkala*), Sadāsiva, the 'non-manifest-manifest' (*niṣkala-sakala*), and Maheśa, the 'manifest' (*sakala*). Of these, the transcendental Supreme Śiva is supposed to bring forth five *śaktis*, namely *parāśakti, ādiśakti, icchāśakti, jñānaśakti* and *kriyāśakti*, out of his self; and they, on their turn, respectively emanate the five Sadāśiva elements (*tattvas*), namely *śivasādākhya* (which is pure, all-pervading and omnipresent) typified as Sadāśiva; *amūrtatattva* typified as *linga*; *mūrta tattva* as Brahma; *kartṛtattva* as Īśvara and *karma tattva* as Īśāna. Each of these Śaivite entities so emanated is variously endowed. These emanations emerge after annihilation (*saṃhāra*) and are meant to create 'pure elements' (*śuddha tattvas*) and 'pure intent' (*śuddha bhāvanā*) to remove *mala* (impurity) from *yogī*s as new creation surges forth. Among these categories, Sadāśiva is supposed to be *sakalā-niṣkalā*.[83] The critical elements of the Siddhānta doctrine, namely *paśu* (creature), *pati* (the God) and *pāśa* (bondage) besides *mala* (impurties) are elicited in conceptualizing Sadāśiva in his multiplicity. When portrayed combining four of his figures with a *linga*, or depicted as four-legged (*catuṣpāda*) deity, the material representation in these forms subtly complete the Siddhāntin imagery of a Supreme Śiva and his emanations, all succinctly integrated together. When he is *catuṣpāda* (four legged), his legs signify *jñāna, yoga, caryā* and *kriyā*, the four *pāda*s of Agamic Śaivism. The image of Sadāśiva from Naresar evokes this comprehensive imagery with some emendations.

The image represents a plain *linga* with four figures seated on pedestals and distributed around its four faces. The first figure (**Pl. 139**), two-armed, is seated in *dhyāna mudrā* with legs folded in *padmāsana* posture. It wears *kuṇḍala*s on the ears, a string of *rudrākṣa* around the neck and a band on the shoulder. The pedestal shows two open palms of the hands and two legs below, which imply the four-armed and *catuṣpāda* (four-legged) features of the deity. The *catuṣpāda* figures of Sadāśiva are known from Khajuraho too[84] and show two legs folded and two extra legs hanging somewhat incongruously, on to the pedestal below. That incongruous format has been dispensed with in this image and it displays the serenity of Śiva's meditational disposition without any jarring effect. The second figure (**Pl. 140**) on the *linga* shows the deity sitting in *gomukhāsana* with the left hand planted on the seat below and right hand holding a *jīva* (in the form of a deer!), suggesting a combination of *paśu*

---

[83] Rao, T.A.Gopinath (1916, rep 1968) *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, New Delhi: Motilal Banarasidass, Vol 2, ii, pp. 361-367. Chaturvedi, S.N. (1994) "The Six-faced and Four-legged Sadāśiva at Khajuraho' in Chakravarty, Kalyan Kumar et al. (eds) (1994) *Khajuraho in Perspective*, Bhopal: Commissioner, Archaeology and Museum, pp. 103-106. Also, Desai, Devangana (1996): 58, 151-152.

[84] *Ibid*, figures 57, 161.



Pls. 139-142. Figures (1-4) of Sadāśiva and his three emanations on a *linga*, Naresar, Central Archaeological Museum, Gwalior.

and *pati*. The pedestal has figures of five cows. The image might stand for Sadāśiva's *mūrtta tattva* Brahma who is supposed to hold a deer. This as well as the previous figure seems to convey their ascetic grace remarkably. The third figure (**Pl. 141**) on the *linga* is again shown sitting in *gomukhāsana*, has *jaṭā* flowing down on the right shoulder and wears *rudrākṣa* on the arms and a *rudrākṣa*-embedded necklace. The image is damaged. The fourth figure (**Pl. 142**) on the *linga* has features of Viṣṇu combined with Śiva (Harihara). It is seated in *yogāsana*, wearing a *kirīṭa mukuṭa* (crown) on the head, a *śrivatsa* motif on the chest, a torque, necklace and elaborate *keyūra* on the arms, but its pedestal carries the figure of Nandī, the mount of Śiva. The figure evinces elements of Śaivite and Vaiṣṇavite iconography in these features.

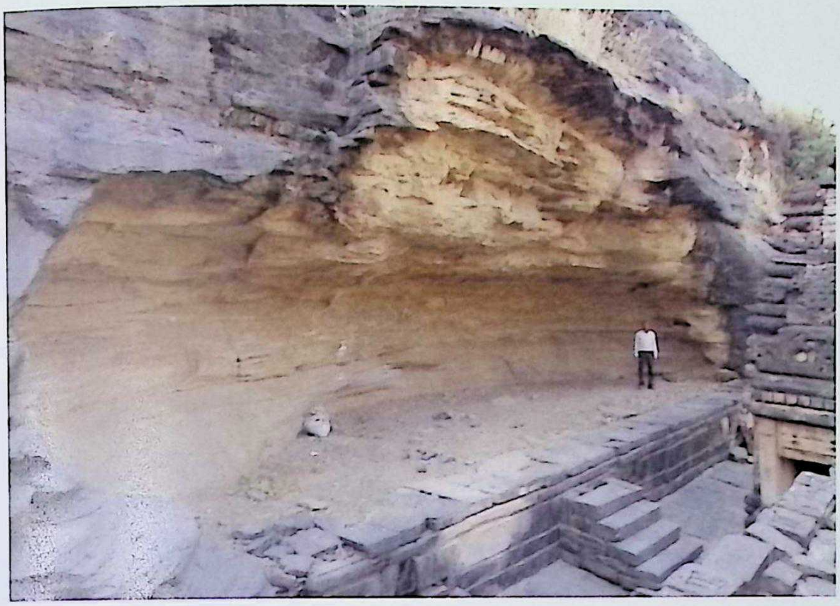
Of the miniature figures carved between the heads of these divinities, one represents Śiva seated in *lalitāsana* with Nandī below and a pot-bellied *muni* by the side of Śiva; another panel has an ascetic sitting in *gomukhāsana* along with an attendant figure in waiting. The third panel has Umā-Maheśvara seated in *lalitāsana* with Nandī shown below (**Pl. 143**). The entire composition is conspicuous for its austere grace and ascetic bearing. Even the figure of Harihara adorned with jewelry has him seated in *yogāsana* like an ascetic. This Sadāśiva image of Naresar is significant for its content but it is difficult to interpret it in its entirety in respect of representation of Sadāśiva in his

Pl. 143. Details, Pls. 139-142, Umā-Maheśvara seated in *lalitāsana* with Nandī.

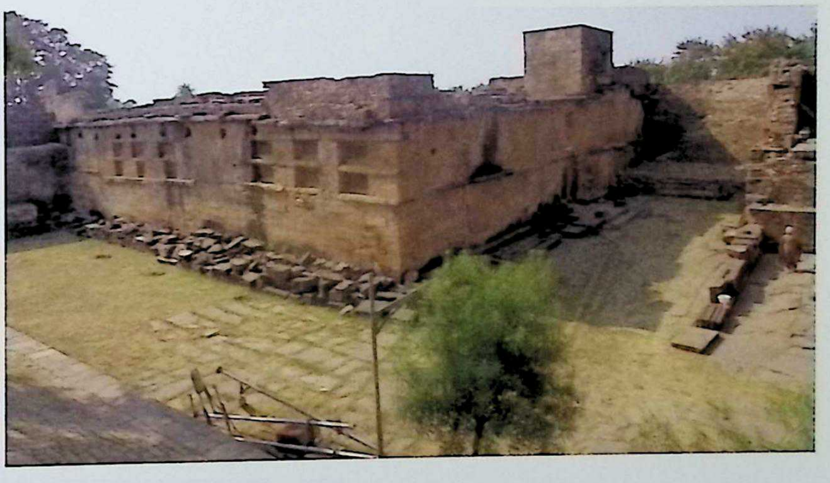
different aspects as well as the miniature figures accompanying them. Some of these miniature figures representing Śiva with Pārvatī may point to the process of differentiation wrought by the *śakti*s but that remains only a speculation. The image however remains unique both in content and in iconography.

In sum, the materials adduced, especially in respect of sculptures, may affirm that the art of the region edifies Siddhānta Śaivism even as it unravels beliefs and aspirations of the counter culture of the woodlands. Moreover, in doing so, art complements history in a domain where information has been scarce.

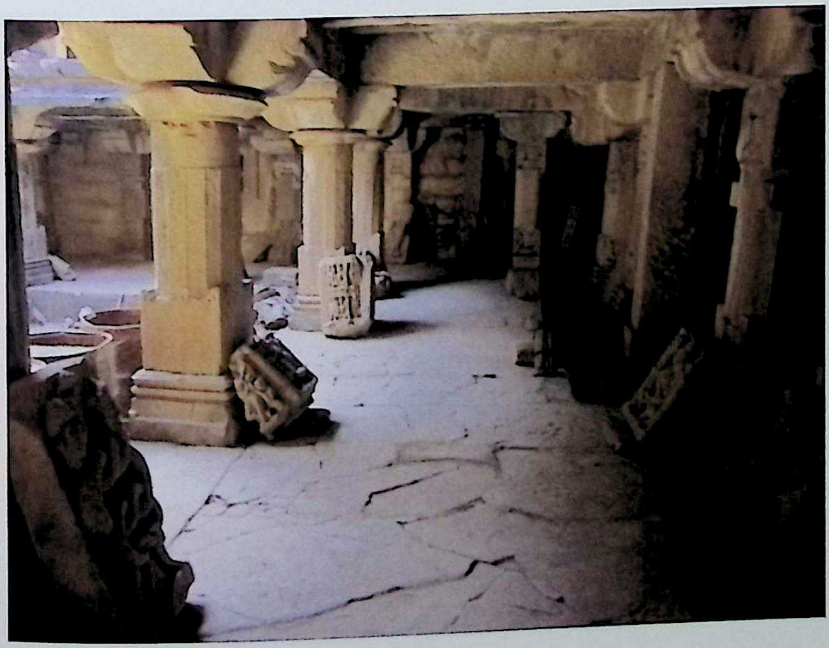
Colour Plates



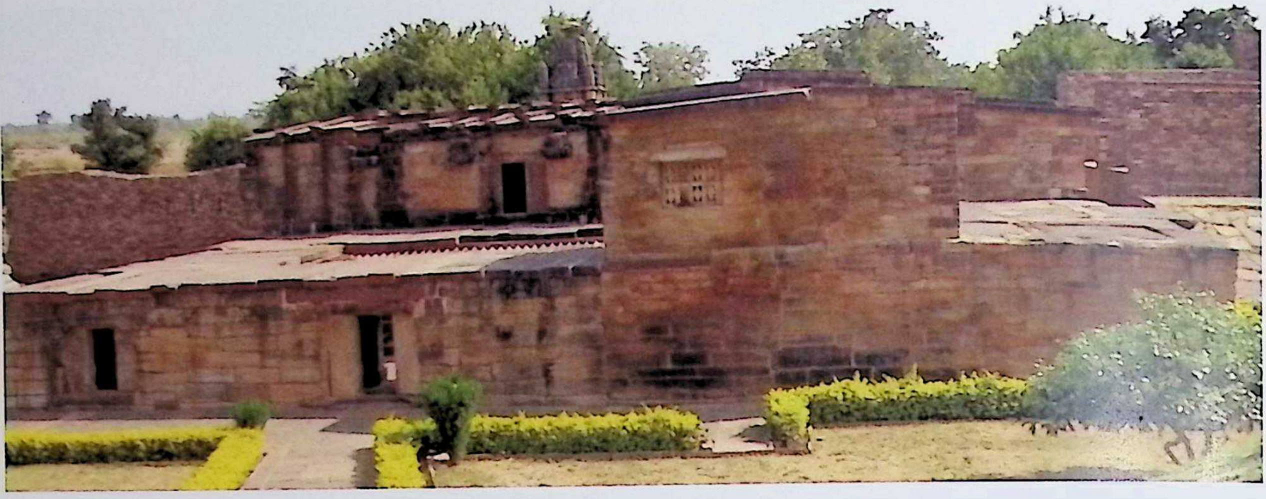
Col. pl. 1. The cave (*guhā*) at Naresar [Pl. 2].



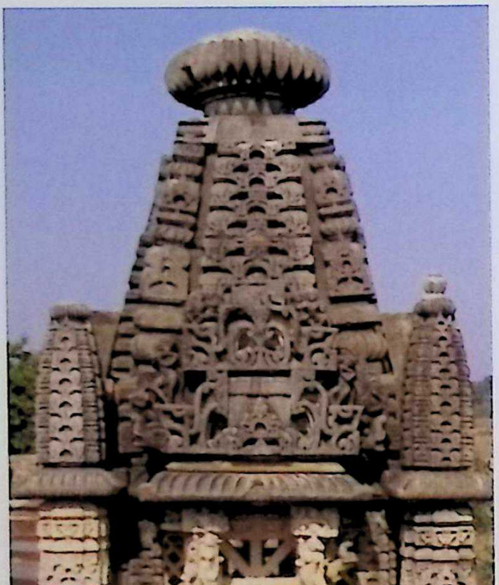
Col. pl. 2. The *maṭha* at Kadwaha [Pl. 3].



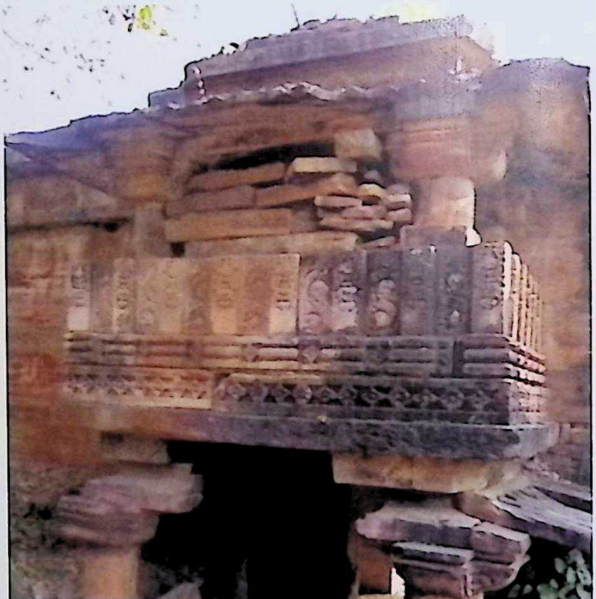
Col. pl. 3. Kadwaha *maṭha*, elevated, colonnaded *vīthī* on ground floor [Pl. 4].



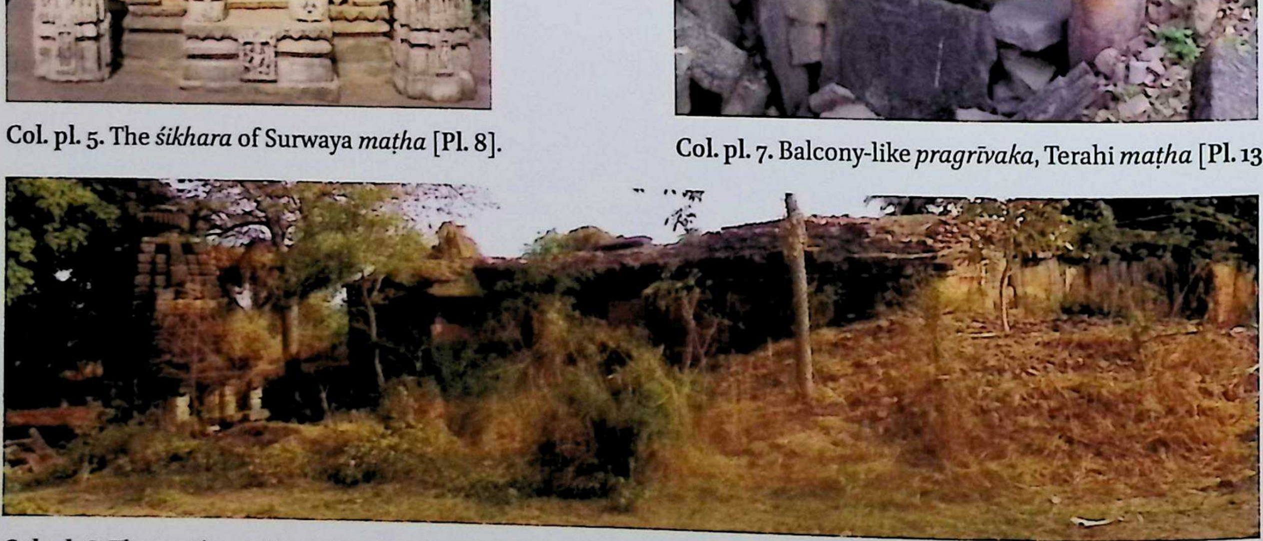
Col. pl. 4. The *maṭha* at Surwaya with a *sarvatobhadra* shrine: view from west [Pl. 7].



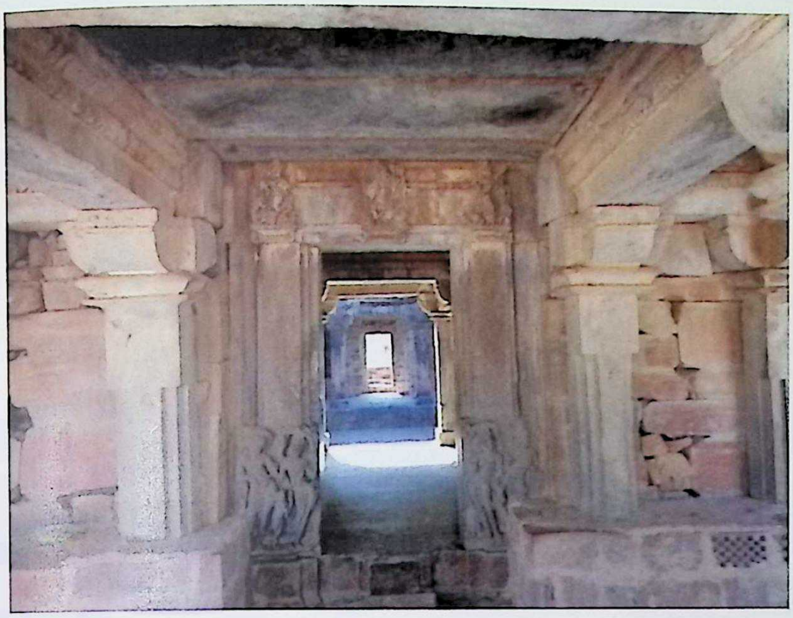
Col. pl. 5. The *śikhara* of Surwaya *maṭha* [Pl. 8].



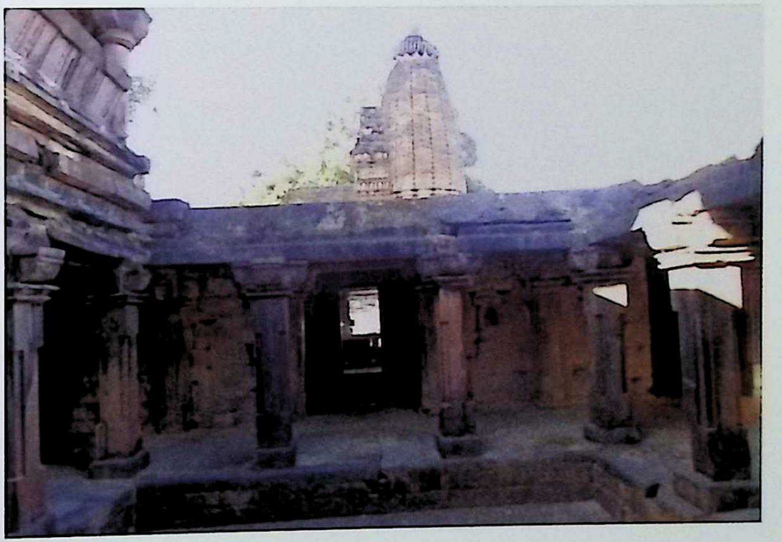
Col. pl. 7. Balcony-like *pragrīvaka*, Terahi *maṭha* [Pl. 13].



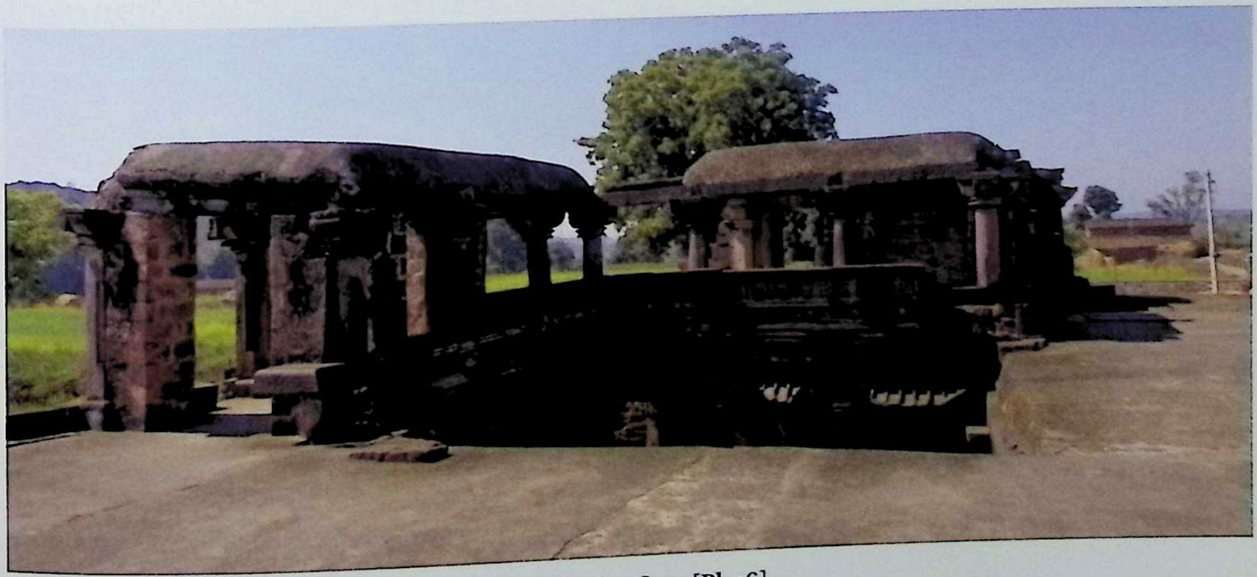
Col. pl. 6. The *maṭha* and temple at Terahi, view from west [Pl. 12].



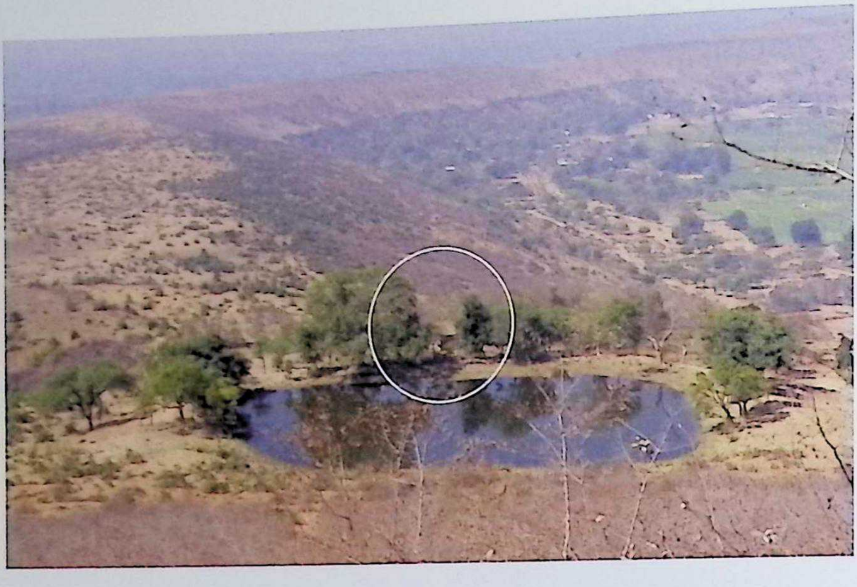
Col. pl. 8. Main doorway with sculpted figures on *peḍya* and *uttaraṅga* in the *maṭha* at Chandrehe [Pl. 24].



Col. pl. 9. View of temple from the interior of Chandrehe *maṭha* [Pl. 27].

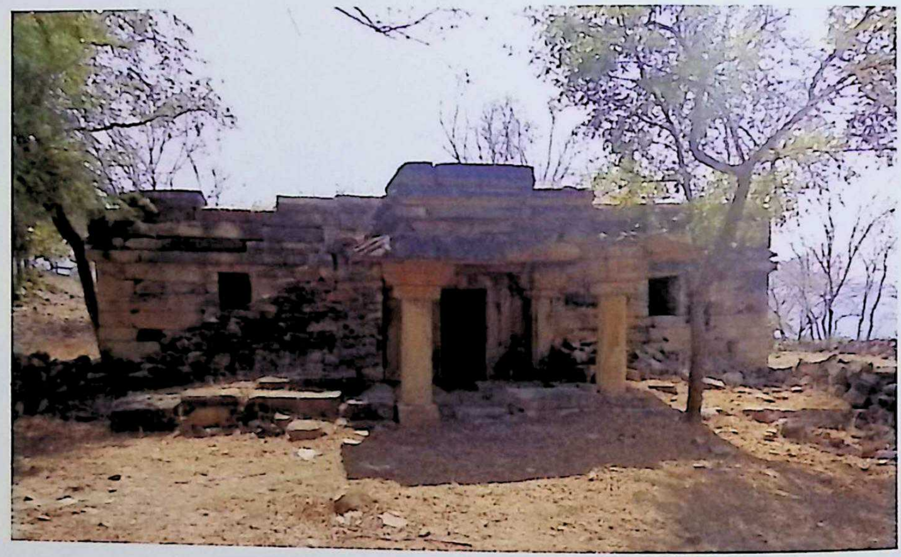


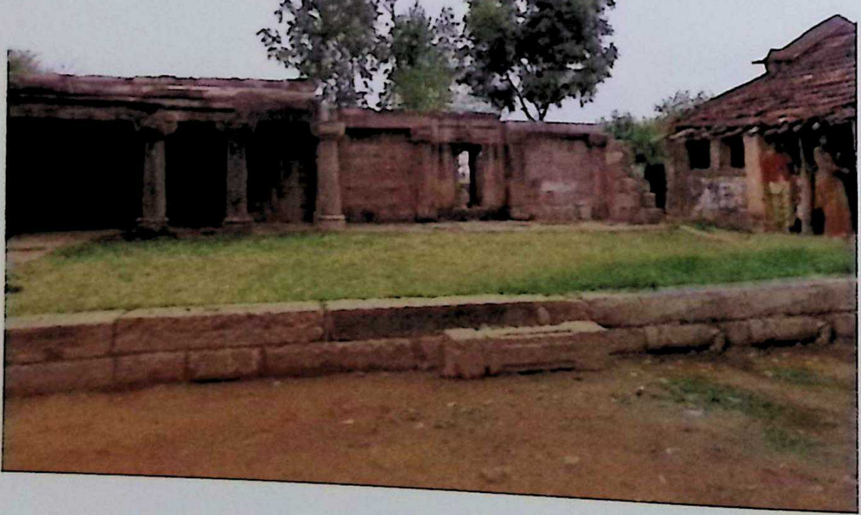
Col. pl. 10. Chandrehe *maṭha*: remnants of structures, first floor [Pl. 36].



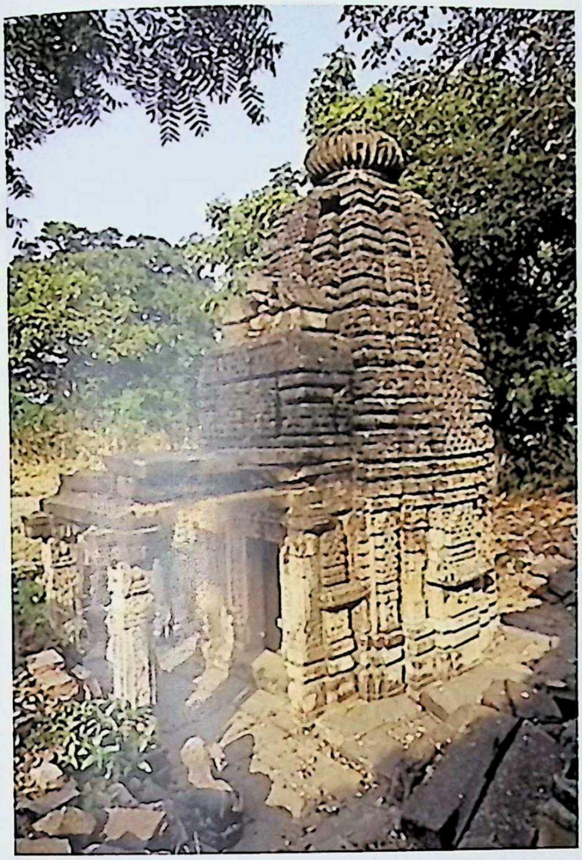
Col. pl. 11. Chunari *maṭha* with panoramic view of surroundings [Pl. 37].

Col. pl. 12. Chunari *maṭha*: View from north [Pl. 38].

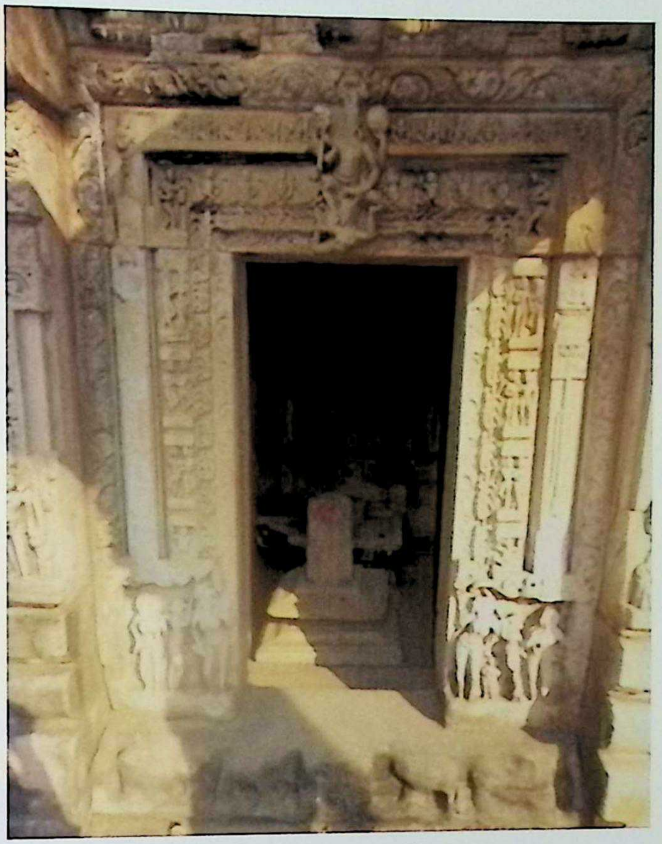




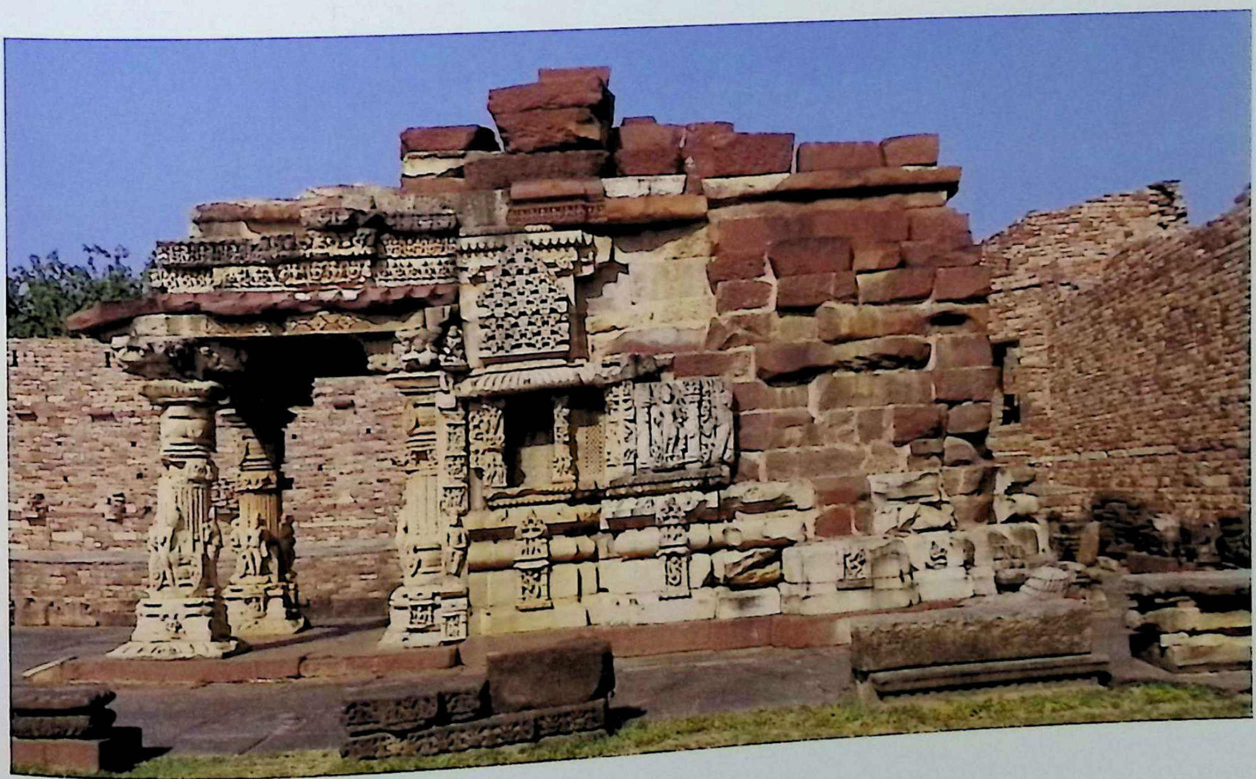
Col. pl. 13. Kodal *maṭha*: Northeast view extended [Pl. 42].



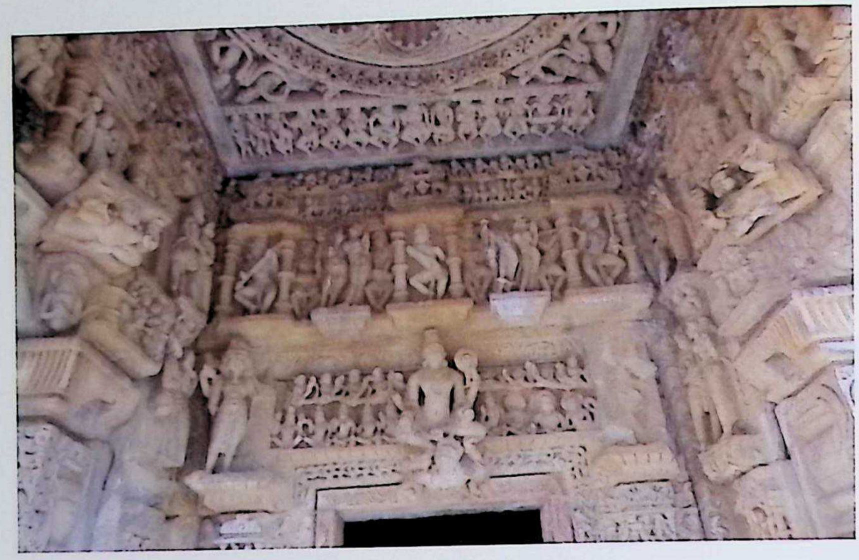
Col. pl. 14. Śiva temple, Terahi [Pl. 47].



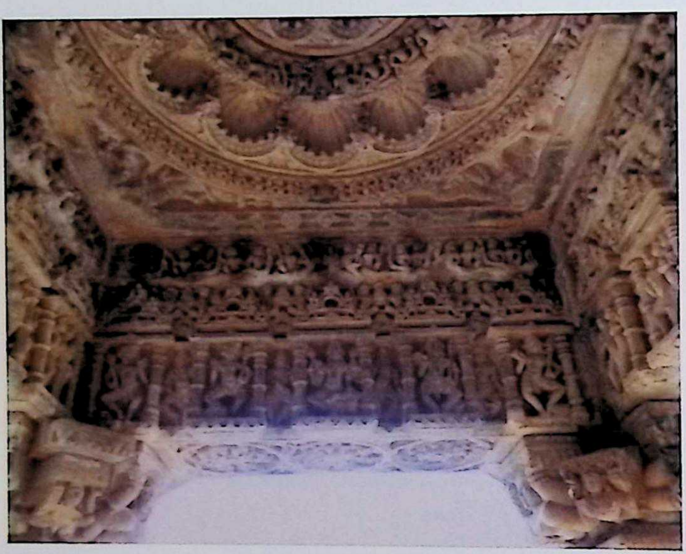
Col. pl. 15. Doorway to the temple, Terahi [Pl. 48].



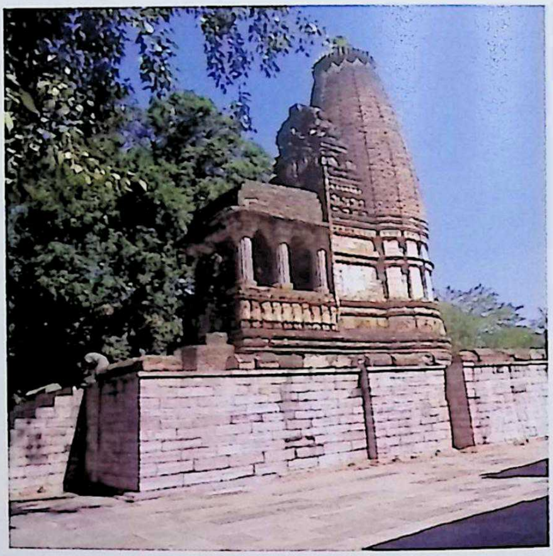
Col. pl. 16. Śiva temple (No. 1), Surwaya [Pl. 49].



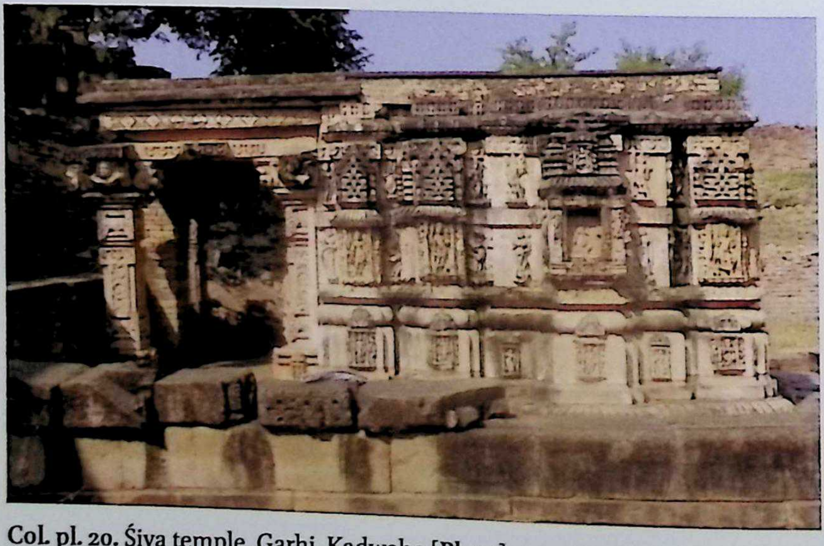
Col. pl. 17. Partial view of ceiling and doorway, Temple (No. 1), Surwaya [Pl. 50].



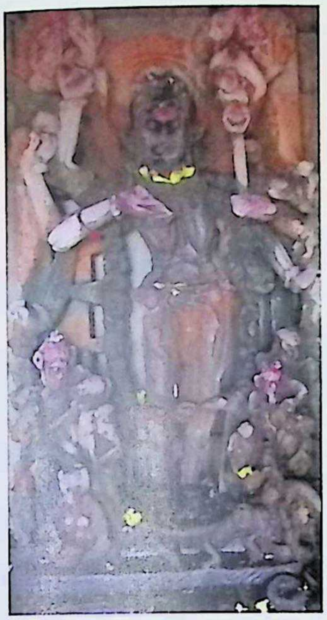
Col. pl. 18. *Mukhamaṇḍapa* architrave with reliefs, Surwaya [Pl. 53].



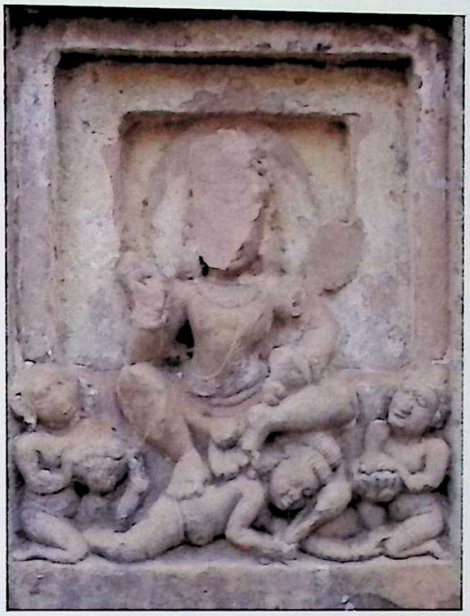
Col. pl. 19. Śiva temple, Chandrehe [Pl. 57].



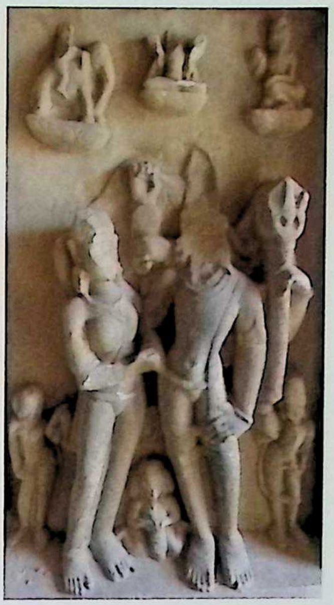
Col. pl. 20. Śiva temple, Garhi, Kadwaha [Pl. 59].



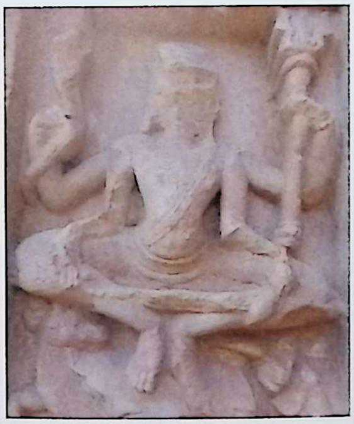
Col. pl. 21. Cāmuṇḍā, Devi temple, Mahua [Pl. 73].



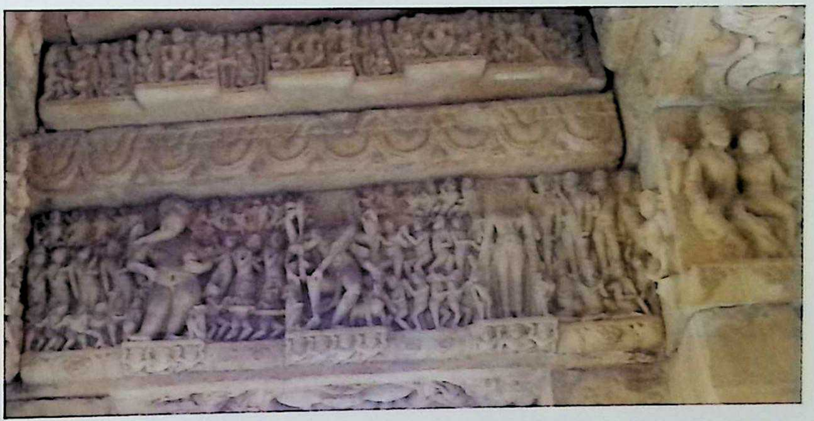
Col. pl. 22. Kubera, Naresar (Temple 17) [Pl. 87].



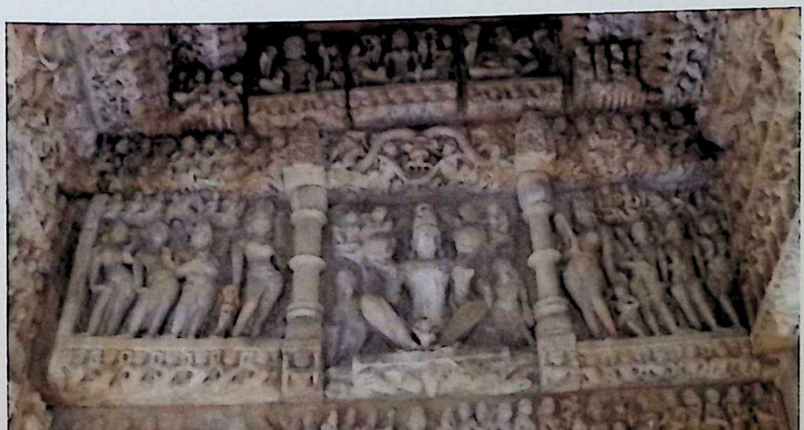
Col. pl. 23. Kalyāṇasundara-Śiva, Batesar [Pl. 90].



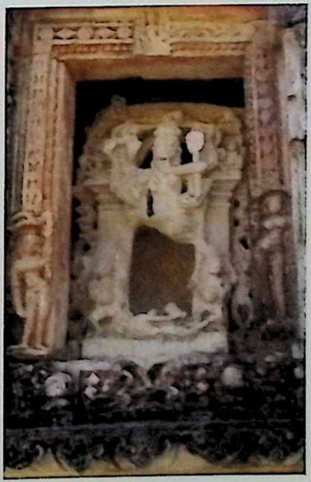
Col. pl. 24. Four-armed Śiva [Pl. 93].



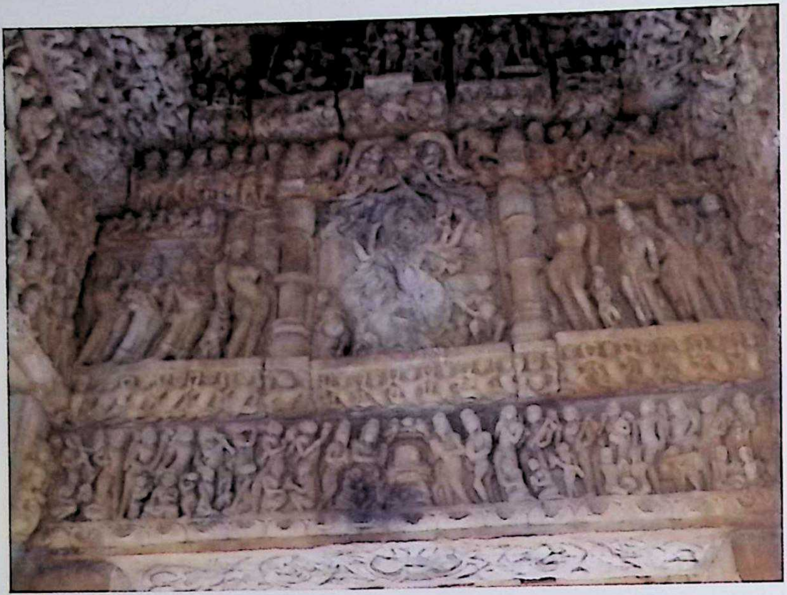
Col. pl. 25. Gaṇeśa with Naṭesa and Parvati, Padhavali [Pl. 95].



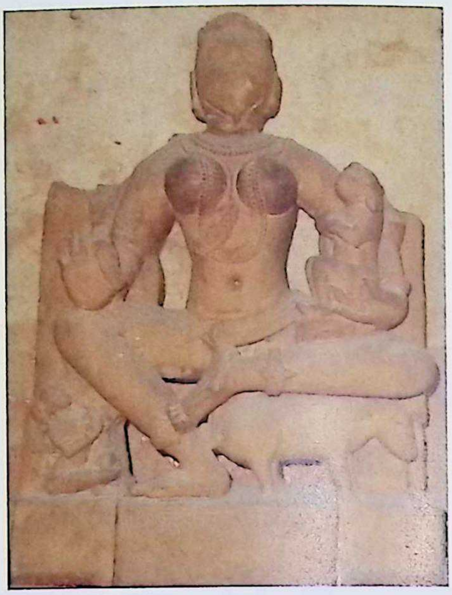
Col. pl. 26. Sūrya, *raṅgamaṇḍapa*, Padhavali [Pl. 96].



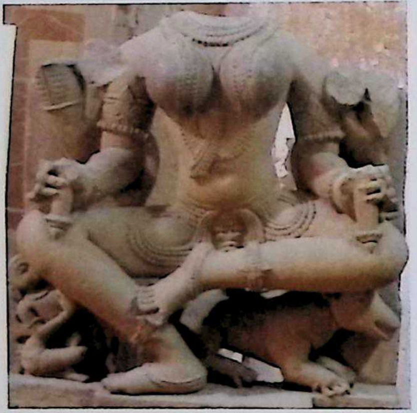
Col. pl. 27. Cāmuṇḍā, *Garhi* temple, Kadwaha [Pl. 97].



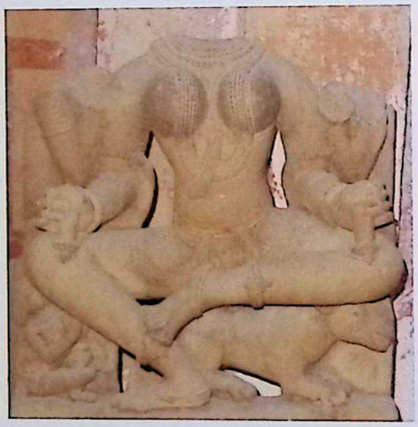
Col. pl. 28. Cāmuṇḍā, *raṅgamaṇḍapa*, Padhavali [Pl. 98].



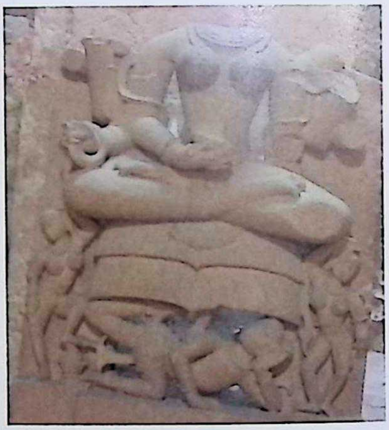
Col. pl. 29. Devī Uma, Naresar [Pl. 99].



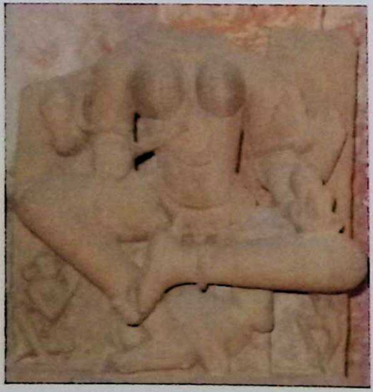
Col. pl. 30. Vikanataṃjaḥ, Naresar, Gujari Mahal Museum, Gwalior [Pl. 100].



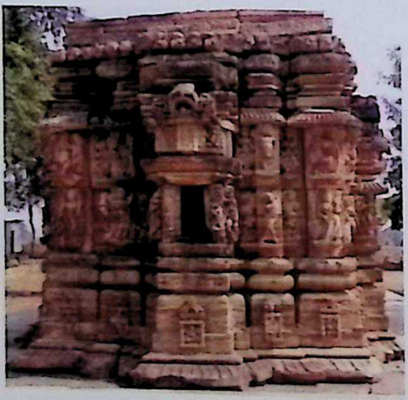
Col. pl. 31. Nīvau, Naresar [Pl. 101].



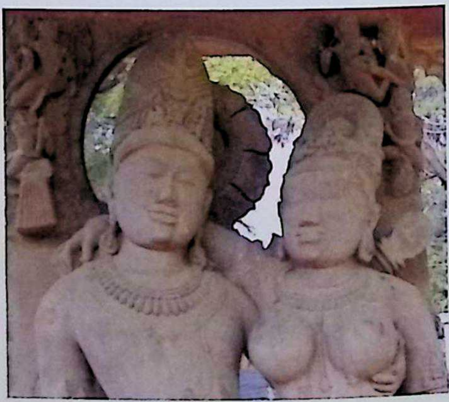
Col. pl. 32. Bhadavāvati, Naresar, Gujari Mahal Museum, Gwalior [Pl. 102].



Col. pl. 33. Varāhi, Naresar [Pl. 103].



Col. pl. 34. Distribution of statuary, Cāmuṇḍā temple, Terahi [Pl. 126].



Col. pl. 35. Umā-Īśa image, Gurgi, now in a park in Rewa [Pl. 135].

Diacritical Symbols and Glossary

DIACRITICAL SYMBOLS:

The symbols used for Sanskrit term are as follows: *ā, ī, ū, ṅ, ṃ, ḥ; ñ, ṭ/Ṭ, ṭh ḍ/Ḍ, Ḍh, ṇ, ṣ, ś/Ś, kṣ, jñ*. Also *ch* is abbreviated as *c* and *cch* as *ch*.

GLOSSARY:

adhiṣṭhāna : base of a temple, same as *pīṭha*
āhāra maṇḍapa : dining enclosure
āmalaka : ribbed myrobalan-shaped element above the neck of temple
āmalasāraka : smaller replica of *āmalaka* surmounting it
āmalasārikā : same as preceding
antarāla : passage between porch and sancum
antarapatra : recessed band, plain or carved, between mouldings
anuratha : vertical projection on *janghā* between *bhadra* and *karṇa* parts of a temple
bāhyasthāna maṇḍapa : enclosure for commoners' assembly
bhadra : central projection on *janghā* of a temple
bhadraka : a square pillar with a central, vertical projection
bhāravāhaka : atlantes with upraised arms
bhramarī : path for circumambulation
bhūmi : storeyed division of a *śikhara* with gradual series of *āmalakas* on *karṇa*
bhūvinyāsa : ground plan of a structure
candraśālā : *caitya*-arch motif
candrikā : capstone on *śikhara* near *āmalakas*

catuḥśāla	cells around the ground floor
chādya	overhanging eave
devakoṣṭha	niches for image
devakulikā	niches for image
dhavalagṛha	inner part of a king's palace
dvi-aṅga	a temple having only *vedibandha* and *jaṅghā* but no *śikhara*
gajapīṭha	base moulding displaying a row of elephants
garbhagṛha	sanctum sanctorum
ghaṭa	pitcher
ghaṭapallava	vase and foliage (portrayal on pillar)
granthāgāra	library
grāsapaṭṭikā	*kirtimukha* frieze
harmyapṛṣṭha	upper storey of a palatial building
jādyakumbha	a bold moulding of *adhiṣṭhāna*
jagatī	platform on which a temple is built
jaṅghā	central part of a shrine between *pīṭha* and *śikhara*
kakṣāsana	seat with a sloping back on balconied window
kalaśa	pitcher-shaped *adhiṣṭhana* moulding; pitcher on the summit of *śikhara*
kapilī	enclosing walls on sides of the *antarala*
kapota (*kapotpālī*)	ubiquitous horizontal cornice between sections of a temple
karṇa	corner
karṇikā	thin, sharp moulding on *pīṭha*
kaṣṭhāgāra	place for storing fire wood
khura	part of the base mouldings below pitcher
kūṭachādya	curved eave over a niche or elsewhere
kumbha	pitcher part of the base mouldings
lalāṭa	central part of the doorway lintel
latā	shoot from base to summit of a temple *śikhara*
latāśreṇī	a group of shoots from base to summit of a temple *śikhara*
latina śikhara	a *Nāgara* type *śikhara* of a single spire
maṇḍapa	porch
mandāraka	central projection of the doorsill
miśraka	a pillar type of mixed designs
mithuna	couple
mithuna śākhā	vertical doorjamb carrying couples
mukhamaṇḍapa	entrance porch of a temple
muktāsthāna maṇḍapa	distinguished persons' enclosure

nagaśākhā	vertical doorjamb adorned with coils of serpent/s
padmaka (*ardhapadma*)	design of lotus or lotus petals
padmalatā	creeper of lotus
pañcabhūmi śikhara	a *śikhara* containing five *āmalakas* on *karṇa* to denote its storey
pañcaratha	a temple plan with five projections on all sides excepting front
patra	foliage,petal, leaf
patraśākhā	a doorjamb displaying such foliage rising vertically
peḍya	base of the doorjambs on either side with river goddesses and attendants
phāṃsanā (*phāṃsanākāra*)	a type of *Nāgara śikhara* of tiered composition
pīṭha	base of a temple
pīṭhikā	a platform like small base
pragrīvaka	frontal porch with entrance
prāsāda	temple, 'palace of deity'
prāsādakukṣi	presence chamber
prastara	architrave
pratihāra gṛha	guard room
rājasenaka	substructure of *kakṣāsana* composed of ornate fillets
raṅgamaṇḍapa	a hall of celebration
ratha	projecting members between the recesses in a plan (*bhu-vinyāsa*)
rathikā	niche
ratnaka (*ardharatnaka*)	diamond motif (half diamond motif)
ratnapaṭṭī	a frieze of diamond motif
rucaka	a pillar type, square in shape
rupaśākhā	door jamb with figure work
śākhā	door jamb
salilāntara	vertically disposed recesses between *latās* on *śikhara*
sarvatobhadra	a shrine with entrances on all cardinal directions
śikhara	spire as the superstructure of a temple
skandha	shoulder part of the spire supporting the set of *āmalaka* and pitcher
stambha	pillar
surasenaka	a trefoil antefix on front of temple *śikhara*
tamālapatra	leaf motif in frieze
toraṇa	Gateway

tri-aṅga	: a temple constituted of three elements, namely *pīṭha*, *janghā* and *śikhara*
triratha	: triple *bhadra* projections on plan of a temple
udgama	: pediment
udumbara	: doorsill
uttaraṅga	: door lintel
varaṇḍikā	: stone work between *janghā* and *śikhara*
vastrāgāra	: store for clothing
vātāyana	: window
vedībandha	: base mouldings
veṇukośa	: stone base with *āmalaka* on top on flanks of central spine of *śikhara*
vimāna	: shrine, base to top, externally
vitāna	: ceiling
vīthī	: gallery
vyāla	: a mythical, composite motif of rampant lion and other animal/s or bird/s
yogapaṭṭa	: a band of cloth binding the knees of a sitting ascetic figure

Select Bibliography

BOOKS AND PAPERS

Agrawal, Vasudeva Sharan (1964) *Harshacarita: Ek Sanskritik Adhyayana* (in Hindi), Patna: Bihar Rashtrabhasha Parishad, second edition.

Agrawal, Kanhaiyalal (1987) *Vindhya Kshetra ka Aitihasika Bhugol* (in Hindi), Indore: Nayi Duniya Printers.

Ali, Rehman (1980) *Art and Architecture of the Kalacuris*, Delhi: Sandeep Prakashan.

Babb, Lawrence A (1998) *Ascetics and Kings in a Jain Ritual*, Lala S.L. Jain Research Series, Vol. VII, Delhi: Motilal Banarasidass.

Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya: see under Kangle, R.P. (ed. and tr.).

Bajpai, K.D. (1987) "Impact of Vaiṣṇavism on Ancient Art of Central India", in Ratan Parimoo et al. (eds.), *Vaiṣṇavism in Indian Art and Culture*, New Delhi: Books & Books, pp. 319-327.

Banerjea, Jitendra Nath (1974) *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, third edition.

Banerji, R.D. (1931) *The Haihayas of Tripuri and their Monuments*, MASI, Vol. 23, Calcutta: Government of India Central Publication Branch.

Beal, Samuel, tr. (1969) *Si-Yu-Ki. Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Delhi, (Rep).

Bhattacharya, Gaurishwar (2002) "A New Śaivācārya with Disciples", *Kalyan Bharati* Vol. VI, pp. 5-14.

Bhattacharya, Pranab Kumar (1977) *Historical Geography of Madhya Pradesh from Early Records*, Delhi: Motilal Banarasidass.

Chakrabarti, Dilip (2005) *The Archaeology of the Deccan Routes from Ganga Plain to the Deccan*, New Delhi.

Chattopadhyaya, Brajadulal (rep. 2012) *The Making of Medieval India*, Oxford India Perennials, New Delhi: OUP.

Cowell, E.B. and F.W. Thomas, ed. & tr. (1960) *Harsha Carita of Banabhatta*, Delhi: Motilal Banarasidass.

Davis, Richard H. (2000) "Praises of the Drunken Peacocks", in David Gordon White (ed.), *Tantra in Practice*, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

—— (1992) "Aghoraśiva's Background", *The Journal of Oriental Research*, Vols. LVI-LXII, (1986-92), Madras: The Kuppuswamy Shastri Research Institute, pp. 368-378.

—— (1991) *Ritual in an Oscillating Universe*, Princeton.

Dehejia, Vidya (1986) *Yogini: Cult and Temples: A Tantric Tradition*, New Delhi: National Museum.

Desai, Devangana (1996): *The Religious Imagery of Khajuraho*, Mumbai: Franco-Indian Research Private Limited.

Deva, Krishna (1995) *Temples of India* (Text and Plates in 2 volumes), Delhi: Aryan Books International.

Dubey, Lal Mani (1987): *Aparājitapṛcchā: A Critical Study*, Allahabad: Lakshmi Publications.

Dubey, Sitaram, (1988) *Bauddha Sangha ka Prarambhika Vikas* (in Hindi), Gorakhpur: Purva Samsthan.

Dundas, Paul (2002 rep.) *The Jains*, (Religious Beliefs and Practices Series), Routledge (first published 1992).

Dunuwila, Rohan A. (1985) *Śaiva Siddhānta Theology*, Delhi: Motilal Banarasidass.

Dwivedi, Harihar Nivas (ed.) (1980), Khadga Rai's *Gopācala Ākhyāna* (in Hindi), Gwalior: Jiwaji Univerity.

—— (vs 2004) *Gwalior Rajya ke Abhilekh* (in Hindi), Banaras: Sulemani Press.

Fleet, John Faithfull (1963 rep.) *Inscriptions of Early Gupta Kings and their Successors*, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. III, Varanasi: Indological Book House.

Garde, M.B. (1952) "Tumain Inscription of Kumaragupta and Ghatotkachagupta, Gupta Era 116", *Epigraphia Indica*, 26, (1952, rep 1985), New Delhi: ASI, pp. 115-118.

Ghosh, Ranjusri (2010) "Image of a Śaiva Teacher and an Inscription on Pedestal: New Evidence for Bangarh Śaivism", *Pratna Samiksha: A Journal of Archaeology*, (NS), Vol. 1, pp. 135-139, Kolkata: Centre of Archaeological Studies and Training.

Ghurye, G. S. (1964) *Indian Sadhus*, Bombay: Popular Prakashan.

Granoff, Phyllis and Koichi Shinohara (eds.) (1994) *Monks and Magicians: Religious Biographies in Asia*, Delhi: Motilal Banarasidass (First published Ontario 1988).

Gonda, Jan (1987) *Rice and Barley Offerings in the Veda* (Orientalia Rheno-Traiectina, Vol. 31), Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers.

Habib, Irfan (2010) *Man and Environment: The Ecological History of India*, People's History of India Series no.36, New Delhi: Tulika Books.

Habib, Irfan and Faiz Habib (2012) *Atlas of Ancient Indian History*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Habib, Mohammad and Khaliq Ahmad Nizami (eds.) (1970) *The Delhi Sultanate*, A Comprehensive History of India, Vol. V, Delhi: People's Publishing House.

Harṣacarita of Bāṇabhaṭṭa: see under Parab, K.P.

Hultzsch, E. (1892) "The Two Inscriptions of the Vayillabhattasvamin Temple at Gwalior", *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, (rep. 1971), pp. 154-162.

Jain, Balchandra (2005) *Utkirna Lekha* (in Hindi), Raipur: Dept. of Culture, Government of Chhattisgarh, (first published in 1961, reprinted, enlarged by G.L. Raikwar and Rahul Singh).

—— (?) "Thubaun Inscription of Harirajadeva, vs 1055", *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. 40, pp. 105-108.

Jain, Balachandra and Chandra Bhushan Trivedi (1976) "Budhi Chanderi Inscription of the Time of Ranapaladeva", *Journal of Oriental Institute*, Vol. 26 (i), Baroda: M.S. University, pp. 87-90.

Jain, J.P. (1984) "Rock Paintings of Shivapuri", in K.K. Chakravarty (ed.), *Rock Art of India*, New Delhi: Arnold Heinemann Publishers, p. 241, pl. LXXVI.

Jain, Usha (1980) "Pachrai aur Gudara ke Mahatvapurna Jain Lekha" (in Hindi), *Siddhantacharya Kailash Chandra Shastri Abhinandan Granth*, Rewa, pp. 348-351.

Kapur, Nandini Sinha (2002) *State Formation in Rajasthan: Mewar During the Seventh-Fifteenth Centuries*, New Delhi: Manohar Publishers and Distributors.

Kangle, R.P. (ed. and tr.), (1986 rep.) *The Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra*, Vol. I-II, Bombay.

Khadga Rai: see above under Dwivedi, Harihar Nivas (1980).

Kielhorn, F. (1892) "A Stone Inscription from Ranod (Narod)", *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, (rep. 1971), pp. 351-361.

—— (1892) "Siyadoni Stone Inscription", *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, (rep. 1971), pp. 162-179.

—— (1888 rep.) "Two Inscriptions from Terahi", *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVII, pp. 201-202.

Lorenzen, David N. (1978) "Warrior Ascetics in Indian History", *Journal of American Oriental Society*, Vol. 98, no. 1, pp. 61-75.

Macdonnel A.A and A. B. Keith (1995 rep.) *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, in 2 volumes, New Delhi: Motilal Banarasidass.

Mahadevan, T.M.P. (1966) "Saiva Siddhanta", in R.C. Majumdar and A.D. Pusalkar (eds.), *Struggle for Empire*, Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, (Reprint), pp. 445-49.

Majumdar, R. C., A.D. Pusalkar and A. K. Majumdar (1960) *The Delhi Sultanate*, Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan.

Malamoud, Charles (1998) *Cooking the World*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Mirashi, V.V. (1974) "Gwalior Museum Inscription of Patangasambhu" (in Hindi), *Prachya Vidya Nibandhavali*, Vol. IV, (transl. Ajay Mitra Shastri), Bhopal: Madhya Pradesh Hindi Granth Academy, pp. 172-182.

—— (ed.) (1955) *Inscriptions of the Kalachuri-Chedi Era*, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. IV, Parts I-II, Ootacamund.

Mirashi, V.V. and Ajay Mitra Shastri (1967) "A Fragmentary Stone Inscription from Kadwaha", *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. 37, Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, pp. 117-124.

Mishra, B.D. (1993) *Fort and Fortresses of Gwalior and Hinterland*, Delhi: Manohar.

Misra, R.N. (2005) "Beginning of Śaiva Siddhānta and its Expanding Space in Central India", in Sadanand Das and Ernst Furlinger (eds.), *Sāmarasya: Studies in Indian Arts, Philosophy and Interreligious Dialogue*, New Delhi: D.K. Printworld, pp. 275-306.

—— (1999) "Religion in a Disorganized Milieu: Śaiva Siddhānta's Institutionalization in Gopādri Region", in Joseph T. O' Connell (ed.), *Organizational and Institutional Aspects of Indian Religious Movements*, Simla: IIAS, pp. 59-78.

—— (1997), "Pontiffs' Empowerment in Central Indian Śaivite Monachism", *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bombay*, Vol. 72 (NS), pp. 72-86.

—— (1997b), "Village Life and Settlements in the Light of Vakataka Inscriptions", in B.P. Sahu (ed.), *Land System and Rural Economy in Early India*, Delhi, pp. 74ff.

—— (1993) "The Saivite Monasteries, Pontiffs and Patronage in Central India", *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bombay*, Vol. 64-66 (Combined), (NS) 1989-91, pp. 108-124, and plates.

—— (1993b) "Cultural Formations in Datia Region", *Pragdhara* 3, Journal of the U.P. State Archaeological Organisation, Lucknow, pp. 59-64.

—— (1987a) "Ancient Temples of Gwalior Revisited" in A.M. Shastri et al. (eds.), *Vajapeya*, Vol. II, pp. 221-227.

—— (1987b) *Sculptures of Ḍāhala and Dakṣiṇa Kosala and their Background*, Delhi: Agam Kala Prakashan.

—— (1987c) "The Riddle of Sas Bahu Temple of Gwalior", in Ratan Parimoo et al., *Vaiṣṇavism in Indian Arts and Culture*, Delhi: Books and Books, pp. 170-186.

—— (1981) *Yaksha Cult and Iconography*, New Delhi: Munshiram Monoharlal.

Misra, R.N. and Suresh Datt Sharma (1980) "Pracina Gwalior ke Simanto ke Puratatvika, Puratana-Bhaugolika evam Aitihasika Adhara" (in Hindi), in Harihar Nivas Dwivedi et al. (eds.), *Gwalior Darshan*, Gwalior: Jiwaji University, pp. 272-287.

Monier Williams, M. (2006) *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, New Delhi: Manohar (Rep.).

Parab, K.P. (ed.) (2005) The *Harṣacarita of Bāṇabhaṭṭa*, New Delhi: Cosmo Publications.

Pathak, V.S. (1987): *Smārta Religious Tradition*, Meerut: Kusumanjali Prakashan.

—— (1960) *Śaiva Cults in Northern India*, Varanasi.

Patil, D.R. (1952) *The Descriptive and Classified List of Archaeological Monuments in Madhya Bharat*, Gwalior.

Ramesh, K.V. and S.P. Tiwari (eds.) (1990) *A Copper Plate Hoard of the Gupta Period from Bagh, Madhya Pradesh*, New Delhi.

Raychaudhury, Hemachadra (1953) *Political History of Ancient India*, University of Calcutta, sixth edition.

Sanderson, Alexis (2009) *The Śaiva Age: The Rise and Dominance of Śaivism during Early Medieval Period*, in Shingo Einoo (ed.), *Genesis and Development of Tantrism*, University of Tokyo: Institute of Oriental Culture, pp. 41-349.

Sahlins, Marshall D (1961) "The Segmentary Lineage, an Organisation of Predatory Expansion", *American Anthropologist* (Chicago 1961), vol. 63, no.2, pp. 312-45.

Sastri, Gaurinath (ed.) (1983) *Vyomaśivācāryaviracita Vyomavatī*, 2 vols., Varanasi: Sampurnanand Sanskrit Vishvavidyalaya.

Sears, Tamara I. (2011) "Building Beyond the Temple: Sacred Centers and Living Communities in Medieval Central India", in Rebecca Brown and Deborah Hutton (eds.), *A Companion to Asian Art and Architecture*, Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.

—— (2009) "Fortified *Maṭha*s and Fortress Mosques: Transformation and Reuse of Hindu Monastic Sites in Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries", *Archives of Asian Art*, Vol. 59, Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, pp. 7-31.

—— (2008) "Constructing the Guru: Ritual Authority and Architectural Space in Medieval India", *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. XC (i), pp. 7-31.

Sharma, Uma Shankar (1984) (ed., tr.), *Sarvadarśana Saṃgraha of Mādhavācārya*, Varanasi.

Sharma, R.K. (1980) *The Kalacuri and their Times*, Delhi: Sandeep Prakashan.

—— (1978) *The Temple of Chausatha Yogini at Bheraghat*, Delhi: Agam Kala Prakashan.

—— (1974) *Madhya Pradesh ke Puratattva ka Sandarbha Grantha* (in Hindi), Bhopal: Madhya Pradesh Hindi Granth Akademi.

Shastri, Ajay Mitra (2007) "Tripurī and Golakī Maṭha", in R.K. Sharma (ed.), *History and Archaeology of the Narmada Valley*, Delhi: Sharada Publishing House, pp. 149-161.

—— (1996) "Baleśvara Bhaṭṭāraka: Hitherto Unknown Śaiva Establishment at Śrīpura", in Sarva Daman Singh (ed.), *Culture through Ages* (Prof. B. N. Puri Felicitation Volume), Delhi: Agam Kala Prakashan, pp. 125-132.

—— (1995) *Inscriptions of the Śarabhapurīyas, Paṇḍuvaṃśins and Somavaṃśins*, Parts I-II, Delhi: Motilal Banarasidass.

—— (1992) "Baleśvara Bhaṭṭāraka: A Hitherto Unknown Śaiva Establishment at Śrīpura", *Journal of Epigraphical Society of India*, 18, pp. 15-23.

Shastri, A.M. et al. (eds.) (1987) *Vajpeya: Essays on Evolution of Indian Art and Culture*, Volumes 1-2, Delhi: Agam Kala Prakashan.

Silk, Jonathan, A. (2008) *Managing Monks: Administrators and Administrative Roles in Indian Buddhist Monasticism*, New York: Oxford University Press.

Singh A.K. (forthcoming) "Fragmentary Chanderi Inscription", *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bombay*.

—— (2010-12) 'Naresar Temples and Inscriptions', *Pragdhara* 21-22, Lucknow, pp. 309-323.

—— (2007) "Kadwaha Stone Inscription of the Time of Kirttipala", *Studies in Epigraphy*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 169-176, Mysore: Epigraphical Society of India.

—— (1994-95) "Some Hero Stones from Gwalior and their Inscriptions", *Pragdhara* 5, U.P. Government Archaeological Organisation, Lucknow, pp. 137-142.

Singh, A.K. (Amarendra Kumar) (2001) "A Saiva Monastic Complex of Kalacuris at Chunari in Central India", *South Asian Studies*, 18, 47-52.

Sircar, D.C. (1987, rep), "The Bharat Kala Bhavan Plates of Harirāja, vs 1040", *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. 31 (rep. 1987, originally pub. 1955-56), pp. 309-313.

—— (1983) *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. II, Delhi: Motilal Banarasidass.

—— (1983b) "Mūrtiśiva's Bangarh Praśasti of the Time of Nayapāla", *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, Vol. XIII, Parts 1-2, (Benoy Chandra Sen Memorial Volume), Calcutta University, pp. 34-56.

—— (1966) *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, Delhi.

Schomerus, H.W. (2000) *Saiva Siddhanta*, Delhi, (Reprinted), (first pub. 1912).

Talbot, Cynthia (1987) "Golaki Matha Inscriptions from Andhra Pradesh", in A.M. Shastri et al. (eds.), *Vajpeya: Essays on Evolution of Indian Art and Culture*, Volumes 1-2, Delhi: Agam Kala Prakashan, Vol. I, pp. 133-146.

Thapar, Romila (2010) *Ancient Indian Social History: Some Interpretations*, New Delhi: Orient Blackswan, second edition, (originally Pub. Orient Longman 1978).

Trivedi, H.V. (ed.) (1978-1991) *Introduction to Inscriptions of the Paramāras, Chandellas, Kachchhpaghātas and Two Minor Dynasties*, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. VII (in three parts), New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India.

—— (1957) *Catalogue of Coins of the Nāga Kings of Padmāvatī*, Gwalior: The Department of Archaeology and Museums, Madhya Pradesh.

Trivedi, R.D. (1990) *Temples of the Pratihāra Period in Central India*, New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India.

Varuṇa Paddhatiḥ of Varunaśiva, (Dīkṣāprakaraṇaṃ), Pondicherry: French Institute (publication details are in Tamil).

Warrier P. K., V. P. K. Nambiar and C. Ramankutty (1993) *Indian Medicinal Plants: A Compendium of 500 Species*, Orient Blackswan.

Willis, Michael D (1997) *Temples of Gopakṣetra: A Regional History of Architecture and Sculpture in Central India* AD 600-900, London: British Museum Press.

—— (1996) *Inscriptions of Gopakṣetra: Materials for the History of Central India*, London: British Museum Press.

Yamamoto, Matori (1987) "The Territorial Organization of Faleata: A Case Study of Title System in Samoan Society", in Ushijima Iwao and Ken-ichi Sudo (eds.), *Cultural Uniformity and Diversity in Micronesia*, Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology, pp. 205-237.

Index

- *abhiṣeka* 137-38, 146, 148, 152, 161
- *abhiṣeka maṇḍapa* 137-38
- *agraśālā* 83, 132-33, 147
- *āhāra maṇḍapa* 83
- *ajira* 83, 101, 117, 135
- Alauddin Khalji 86
- *ālinda* 83
- Alla 31, 104
- Allajiyapa 104
- arsenal(s) 67, 69-70, 72, 94, 147
- Ascetic(s) 1-9, 12, 15, 19-23, 28-33, 36-39, 41, 43, 45-51, 53-67, 69-76, 78-82, 84-89, 94-95, 104-05, 111-13, 115, 121-28, 130, 132-33, 138, 140-42, 145-55, 158-63, 165, 172-74, 176-78, 182, 184-85, 187-94, 198, 200
  - descent 5, 38-44
  - diaspora 7, 31, 38, 41, 43, 45, 53, 55, 94
  - economic resources of 63-66
  - erudition 19, 31, 53, 62
  - fascination for elephants 70
  - grants made to 64
  - images of 187-192
  - lineages of 38-56
    - Araṇipadra 38, 40, 41, 50
    - Dakṣiṇa Kosala 45-46
    - Kadwaha (Kadambaguhā) 39-41, 43, 47-49
    - Madhumatī 50-53
    - Tripurī 53-56
  - migration of 46
  - militaristic role of 69-72
  - piety of 62-66
  - power of 66-75, 161
  - rulers/potentates [*vis-à-vis* ascetics]
    - Avantivarman 40, 68, 87, 113, 137
    - Gobhaṭa 68, 71-72, 78
    - Harirāja (Later Pratihāra) 26, 28, 33-34, 48-49, 68, 72, 85, 87-88, 92, 137, 147
    - Lakṣmaṇarāja II 50-52, 68-69, 128, 147, 153
    - Other Kalacuri rulers 51, 64, 68, 178
    - praise of warriors by 88, 105
    - *vis-à-vis* Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas 72-75
    - warrior 69-72
    - Yuvarājadeva I 36, 50-51, 53, 64-65, 68, 128, 153-54, 178
    - Yuvarājadeva II 5-6, 47, 64-65, 67-69, 128, 194
- Ascetic(s) (by name)
  - Aghoraśiva (of Dakṣiṇa Kosala) 45-46
  - Aghoraśiva (of Madhumati) 41, 51-53, 60, 68, 76, 128, 148
  - Aghoraśiva (of Jageshwar) 6
  - Aghoraśiva (of Tamil region) 56
  - Āmardakatīrthanātha (=Rudraśambhu) 37, 39, 41, 45, 47, 58, 79, 111
  - Astraśiva 45-47
  - Dharmaśambhu 48, 59-60, 124
  - Dharmaśiva 48-49, 54-55, 67-68, 71-72, 85, 87, 92, 124, 147
  - Dīrghācārya 45-46

- Hṛdayaśiva (of Araṇipadra) 50, 113
- Hṛdayaśiva (of Madhumatī) 26, 41, 51-53, 60, 64, 67, 76, 128, 148, 153
- Īśānaśambhu (=Īśānaśiva) 51-52, 55, 63, 67, 69, 128, 138
- Īśvaraśiva (of Kadwaha) 48-49, 87
- Īśvaraśiva (of Madhumati) 50-53, 59, 67-68, 128, 154
- Kadambaguhādhivāsī 37-40, 43, 46-47, 80-81, 84, 87, 95, 122
- Kavacaśiva 48, 50, 53, 57, 60, 113
- Kīrtiśiva 54-55, 61-62, 70, 154, 176
- Nādaśiva 39, 54-55, 58-59, 61, 70
- Pataṅgaśiva (Śambhu) 50, 80, 112-116, 153-154,176
- Pavanaśiva 38, 50, 52-53
- Prabhavasiva (=Sadbhavaśambhu) 51-54, 62-65, 67, 68, 126-128
- Prabodhaśiva (of Chanderi) 49, 59, 78, 124
- Prabodhaśiva (of Chandrehe) 6, 32, 39, 47, 52, 55, 57-58, 60, 62-63, 69, 128-129, 138, 149, 154-155
- Praśāntaśiva 6, 39, 51-52, 56-60, 62, 76, 127-29, 132, 138, 140, 146, 153-55
- Purandara (=*Mādhumateya*) 48, 51, 58
- Purandara (=*Mattamayūranātha*) 38, 39-41, 48, 50, 58, 67, 84-85, 87, 113, see also Upendra
- Puruṣaśiva 54-55
- [Rudra]śiva 54
- Śabdaśiva 50-51
- Sadāśiva (of Kadambaguha) 48, 50, 59, 67, 107, 113
- Sadāśiva (of Senakapat) 45-46,
- Sadyaḥśiva 45-46
- Śaktiśiva (=Śaktiśambhu) 54, 55, 70
- Śankhamaṭhikādhipati 38, 41, 46-47, 78
- Śantaśiva 54, 61
- Śikhāśiva (=Cūḍāśiva) 48, 50-53, 58-60, 87
- Somaśambhu 52-55
- Terambipāla 41
- Vāmaśambhu (=Vāmaśiva/Vāmadeva) 52-55, 64, 67, 69,
- Vāstuśiva 54-55, 58
- Vimalaśiva I 54-55, 146, 148
- Vimalaśiva II 1, 39, 61-63, 65, 67, 69-71, 74-75, 85, 153-154
- Vīṇāmuni 49
- Vyāpaśiva 45, 46
- Vyomaśiva 7, 31, 50, 56-60, 62, 69, 105, 113-16, 153, 154, 175-76
- Aśoka (Maurya) 19, 34-36
- *āśrama* 8, 16, 23, 48-50, 57, 66, 76, 79, 80-81, 87, 114-15, 124, 128-29
- *Aṭavī*(s) (woodlands) 2-4, 8-9, 12-14, 35, 41, 55
  - *durgāṭavī* 12
  - Koṭāṭavī 12
  - Sahalāṭavī 12
  - Vaṭāṭavī 12
  - *vindhyāṭavī* 2, 4, 9, 12, 14-17, 19, 184
- *āṭavika rājyas* 35
- *Āṭavika*(s) 3-4, 8, 12, 14, 16-19, 22-23, 25-28, 31-36, 55-57, 75, 78-79, 185, 194
  - –Mātṛkās 152, 162-63, 168-71, 173, 181-82, 184-85, 192
    - Āmralohitā 176
    - Āsāvarī 95
    - Badarī 186
    - Bāhinī 184
    - Bhā 186
    - Bhā. Navā 186
    - Bhadavāvatī 185
    - Bhānujā 184
    - Bhānusī 184
    - Budhadāghī 184
    - Carā 185
    - Itaralā 186
    - Jāmyā 184-85
    - Jautī 186
    - Kapālinī 186
    - Kvaiverī 185
    - Kṛṣṇa Bhagavatī 186
    - Mahāruṇḍā 95, 176
    - Meghālī 186
    - Nīvau 185-86
    - Raghatapāhī 185
    - Ramaṇī 186
    - Sekā 185
    - Taralā 186
    - Tāraṇī 186
    - Uma 5, 177, 185, 196
    - Vairāḥ 186

  Varāhi 185-87
  Varuṇī 185
  Vāsavā 186
  Viarāḥ 185
  Vikanataṃjaḥ 185-86
 People and communities:
  Aparaseka 8, 31
  Barbaras 185
  Bhadakana 8, 21
  Bhilla 11
  Bhūkampa 19
  Kacchapa 7, 8, 27, 31
  Kāruṣa 8, 11, 24
  Nara 8, 31
  Nirghāta 12, 16, 19
  Pulinda 8-9, 11, 31, 35
  Śabara (Śavara) 8, 11-13, 16, 19, 31, 176
  Śarabhaketu 12, 19
  Seka 8, 31, 185
  Vyāghraketu 12, 19
 bhaṭas 4, 26-30, 73, 88
  Allabhaṭṭa 26, 28, 104
  Dhūrbhaṭa 27-29, 33, 49
  Gobhaṭa 68, 71-72, 78
  Undabhaṭa 15, 27-29, 33, 71, 104-05
  Vāyillabhaṭṭa 28, 104
aṭavīpāla 26
āṭavyas 35
Aurangzeb 17, 115

Bāhyasthāna maṇḍapa 83, 116-17, 135
banshees 152, 173, 194
Barbaras 185
Batesar 30, 81-82, 84, 146, 152, 158, 172, 177-79, 180, 188
battles 74, 78, 88, 104, 194
Bhadakana-s 8, 21
bhaṭṭāraka 1, 61, 70, 74, 85
Bhūteśvara 85, 87, 166
Bhuvanāśraya paṇḍita 48
Bilhari 5-6, 15, 29, 32, 37, 39, 41, 47-48, 50, 51-53, 55, 59-60, 65, 66, 68, 70, 76-77, 79, 81, 84, 123, 128, 137, 147-49, 153, 176, 194

Cāmuṇḍā 14, 95, 105, 123, 152, 172-74, 178, 186-87, 190-92, 194-96
  temple 105, 173-74, 178, 191-92, 194-96
Candellas 27, 88
Candella Vīravarman 88
Cāṇḍiyāṇa 104
catuḥśāla 83, 107
Caulukyas 86
Chunari 53, 55, 77, 79-81, 83-84, 110, 118, 123, 139-42
Cūḍāśiva: see under Śikhāśiva

Ḍāhala 1-4, 8-9, 11-12, 19, 21, 27, 32-37, 45, 51-56, 61, 64, 66, 76, 78, 84, 123, 126, 139-40, 142, 153-54, 169, 173, 175-77, 181-82, 186
Dakṣiṇa Kosala 6, 9, 41, 43-46, 55
dhavalagṛha 83
dīksā 75
Dilawar Khan of Malwā 86
Durvāsā 1, 38, 39, 127

female warriors 174
fortification 28, 32, 80, 82, 88-89, 94-96, 100, 114, 116, 121, 147, 155

Gaganaśiva 4, 6, 31, 105, 111-12, 148
Gaganaśiva of Karhad 111
Ghiyasuddin Shah Khilji 86
ghouls 152, 191-92, 194
golakī/golagī/golagnika 1, 37, 51-55, 64-65, 73, 77, 123, 126-28, 138, 140, 146, 150, 154, 210
Gopācala 1-4, 8-9, 11, 15, 19-21, 23-25, 27-34, 37, 41, 43, 45, 53, 55-56, 66, 76, 78, 80, 106, 122-23, 139, 145, 153-54, 159, 173-79, 181-82
Gopācala-Ḍāhala Mātṛkās 182
Gopācala Mātṛkās 173
granthāgāra 83, 90, 94, 102, 107, 132, 145, 147
guhā 8, 47, 80-84, 87, 92, 112, 122, 172
Guhāvāsī 1, 39-40, 47
Gurjara-Pratihāras 26-27, 29, 104
gurusthāna 80, 113-14

harmyapṛṣṭha 94
Harṣa 16, 19, 24, 34-35
Hastin 2, 35

Ibn Batuta 88-89
Indraiṇi 185

Jayasimha 67-68
jogi 700 165
jogī Makaradhvaja 31

Kacchapaghāta ruler Kīrtirāja 27
Kacchapaghātas 27, 33, 159
Kacchapas 9, 27
Kadambaguhādhivāsī 37-40, 43, 45-47, 80-81, 84, 87, 95, 122
kakṣyā 83
Kalacuris 2-3, 6, 21, 33, 36, 53, 72, 142, 147, 164, 169
Kāruṣa 8, 11, 24
kāṣṭhāgāra 83, 107
Kīrti Singh Tomar 27
Kodal 55, 63, 77-81, 83-84, 101, 118, 123, 132, 139, 142-45, 152, 155-56, 169-72, 178, 182, 198
Kokalladeva II 6, 64, 69, 123, 154

Later Pratihāras 3, 21, 33, 86, 88
lubdhaka 28, 96, 103

Mahīpāla 30
Mahmud Shah Tughlaq 84, 86
Maihar 52-53, 55, 68, 76-77, 79, 81, 84, 126, 128, 153
maṇḍapas 83, 117, 138, 147, 156
Mandu Sultans 86, 94
maṭha(s) 31-33, 52, 63-65, 95, 103-05, 111-15, 123-50
  arsenal 69, 72, 94, 147
  battle-scarred history 85, 104, 108, 194
  clusters 81
  fortification 28, 32, 80, 82, 88-89, 94-96, 100, 114, 116, 121, 147, 155
  Nauhaleśvara 52-53, 65-66, 128, 147-48
  pilgrims 36, 49, 85-86, 94, 113-14
  sixteen in all 76-77
  types 82-83
  Vaidyanātha 41, 52, 68-69, 76-77, 128, 146, 153
maṭhikā 46, 78, 80, 84, 97-102, 116, 119
Mattamayūra(s) 1, 5-6, 31, 37-38, 45, 47-48, 50-51, 53-55, 63, 70, 77, 87, 105, 123, 142, 178, 192, 194
Mattamayūrapura 7, 37, 40, 43, 47-48, 50, 53, 68, 78, 80, 84-87, 112-13, 115, 122
Mihirabhoja 30-31
Muhammad Bin Tughlaq 115
muktāsthānamaṇḍapa 83, 94, 102
munis 2-6, 9, 15, 29, 31-38, 41, 43, 45-52, 54-56, 64, 66-69, 71-81, 84, 88, 102-04, 111, 114, 123-24, 140, 142, 144, 146, 148-50, 153-54, 159, 190, 196-97

Nāgas (of Padmāvatī) 27
Naresar 1, 30, 34, 80-84, 146, 159, 172-74, 177-80, 184-87, 198-200
Navadurgās 30, 175
Niṣadhas 20-21, 27
Nohalā 36, 50-53, 59, 64, 68, 128, 153
Nohaleśvara 32, 41, 51-52, 66, 76-77, 153

Padhavali 22, 81-82, 84, 159, 163, 165, 172-73, 178, 182-83, 188, 190-93
Pāṇḍuvaṃśī Śivagupta 139
Parivrājaka Mahārājas 2, 12, 27, 35
Pāśupata Śaivas 54, 62, 146
pilgrims 36, 49, 85-86, 94, 113-14
Piṣṭapurikā 36, 184
praggrīvaka 83, 110
prāsāda-kukṣi 83, 93
pratihāragṛha 83
preta 152, 173, 192, 194
pretanī(s) 173, 194
preta-varga 152
Pulinda-*rāja-rāṣṭra* 35

rājaguru 1, 61, 64, 67, 73-74
Ramabhadra 31
rāṇaka 61, 73, 88, 96, 153
raṅgamaṇḍapa 82, 84, 159, 163, 165, 190-93
rāvala 34, 153, 184, 186
Rudra 14, 54, 175, 179-81, 194

Śabara 8, 11-13, 16, 19, 31, 176
Sāhasamalla 86, 96
Sāhasika 69
Śaiva Siddhānta 1, 4, 12, 28, 32, 198
Salahaṇadevī 96
Samkṣobha 2, 35
Samudragupta 19, 27, 34-35
Śaṅkhamaṭhikā 76, 95
satī 26, 104, 123, 130
satramaṇḍapa 83
Sattras 133

saudha 83, 123
śayanagṛha 83, 147
schism 48
sculpture(s) 1, 127, 136, 140, 146, 152, 156, 163-64, 167, 171-74, 178, 184-85, 192, 194, 198, 201
Shah Alam II 115
Shahjahan 115
Shamsuddin Iltutmish 95
silos 79, 80, 83, 101, 130, 144, 145, 147, 150
Śiva 1, 5-7, 30, 38-39, 40, 46, 48, 54-55, 58-61, 63, 70-71, 73, 75, 85-86, 95, 99, 105-06, 111, 113-14, 116, 123, 137, 139, 142, 146, 152-54, 157, 159, 162, 164-66, 168-72, 175-81, 190-92, 196-200
śrī Badarī 186
śrī Bāṇaprabhā 186
śrī Bhā 186
śrī Itaralā 186
śrī Jautī 186
śrī Taralā 186
śrī Tāraṇī 186
sthānapati(s) 4, 31, 33, 56, 71, 80, 154
Sultan Hussain Shah Sharqui 27
Sultan Mahmud Khalji 86
Sultans of Mandu 86
Sultans of Yoginipura (Delhi) 86
svabhujopārjita 80

tapasthāna 2, 6, 8, 41, 81, 124, 127-28
tapovana 4, 8, 37, 41, 44-47, 50, 56, 66, 81, 111-13
temple(s) 6-7, 11, 25, 28, 30, 32, 38, 40, 45-46, 49, 52-53, 57, 62-63, 65-66, 70, 73, 78-79, 82, 84-85, 87-89, 91-92, 94-96, 99, 102, 104-06, 111-12, 114-16, 122-23, 125-30, 133-35, 139, 142, 146, 152-83, 187-98
Thubon 33, 49, 77, 79, 81, 88, 123-25, 140, 160, 187-88, 191, 193
tīrtha 8, 28, 40, 45, 47, 79, 81, 111, 113
town council (*vāra*) 22, 154

Ucchakalpa 11, 35
Upendra 38, 47
Upendrapura 38, 41, 47

Vaidyanātha monastery 52, 68-69, 76
Vaiṣnavī 185
Vākāṭakas 35
Vakrasādhu 85
Vālakhilyas 39, 48
Valkhas 33-34
Vāmadeva, a chieftain 34, 184, 186
vana 4, 9, 12, 24, 66, 81, 130
vanavīra 31
Varman 104
vāsagṛha 83, 90, 147
vasati 49, 80-81, 114, 124-25, 140
vātāyana 79, 83, 93, 141
Vatsarāja, a local chieftain 122
vault 78, 80, 101, 130, 135-36, 144-45
vidyāvyākhyānamaṇḍapa 83, 133
Vīṇāmuni 49
Vindhyamūlīyas 35
Vīrabhadras 73
Vīramuṣṭhis 73
Viśveśvaraśambhu 54-55
vīthī 83-84, 91, 97-101, 107-08, 110, 116-18, 130-31, 133, 143, 147
Vyāghradeva 35

warrior monk 48, 72, 85, 87
weaponry/weapons 70, 72, 74, 147-48, 150, 174, 187

Yājvapāla Cāhaḍa 86, 95
Yājvapāla Gopāladeva 88
Yājvapālas 21, 28, 33, 86, 88, 96, 159
Yoginī figures 173

Professor R.N. Misra taught at the Universities of Saugor, Gwalior and Allahabad (1959-2001) and was also a Fellow of Indian Institute of Advanced Study (1973-75; 2002-05) and Tagore National Fellow (2012-15) affiliated to the Archaeological Survey of India.

The books he authored include *Bharhut* (in Hindi, 1971), *Ancient Artist and Art Activity* (1975), *Indian Sculptures* (in Hindi: 1978, 2002, 2008), *Yaksha Cult and Iconography* (1981), *Sculptures of Ḍāhala and Dakṣiṇa Kosala* (1987), *Ancient Indian Society, Economy and Religion* (in Hindi, 1991, 1994), *Śilpa in Indian Tradition* (2009) and *Outlines of Indian Arts* (edited, 2014).

Jacket Illustrations:
Front: The *śikhara* of Surwaya *maṭha*.
Back: Kadwaha *maṭha*, elevated, colonnaded *vīthī* on ground floor.

Aryan ₹ 2400

ISBN 978-81-7305-605-5

9 788173 056055

www.aryanbooks.com